

PAKISTAN

The Fatherland of the Pak Nation

BY

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Author of . . . The Pak Plan, including (A) The territorial designation and demarcation, national integration and liberation (I) of Pakistan; (II) of Bangistan and Osmanistan; (III) of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan; (B) The fraternal co-operation and inter-national co-ordination of these countries in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations; (C) The conversion of the Sub-continent of "INDIA" into the Continent of "DINIA"; and (D) The organization into the Orbit of Pakasia, of DINIA and its Dependencies: the Pakian Sea, the Maplian Sea, the Alam and Ameen Islands, Safiistan, the Safian Sea, Ceylon, Nasaristan, the Nasarian Sea, the Osmanian Sea, the Bangian Sea, and the Ashar and Balus Islands.

Third Edition

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

This is the third edition of "Pakistan: My Faith, Fatherland, and Fraternity." Like the first two, which were issued in cyclostyled form for the use of the workers of the Pakistan National Movement, it is—though much fuller than its predecessors—still incomplete and abridged and, unless specifically stated otherwise, it deals only with the Pakistan which comprises our homelands in the north-west of "India."

In preparing this edition my aim, as before, has been to provide a short statement on the salient features of Pakistan that will imprint itself on the minds of our people, inspire them to intensify the struggle, and impress on the world-conscience the justice of our cause. In pursuance of this aim as well as in the interest of the publication of the book, I have omitted some chapters, summarised others, and dealt with only those aspects of Pakistan which closely bear upon its destiny. That is, the destiny which I have predicted for it ever since 1933, the year in which I first placed it before the Millat and started the fight to oppose its inclusion in the All-India Federation and to win its recognition as a separate, sovereign country.

Fourteen years have elapsed since that time. During these years the cause of Pakistan has advanced. In fact, it has become the cause of the renaissance of the Millat and of the re-assertion of Islam throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. What has actually been accomplished in this period belongs to History, which alone can, and will, judge its true worth in the scales of eternal values. But, whatever the ultimate verdict of History may be, one thing is already clear. This is that the ultimate triumph of the cause of Pakistan is certain, and that when it comes it will open a new chapter of greatness in the life of our nation in Pakistan and of our Millat in Pakasia.

In that certainty we the Paks, inspired by the supreme truth of our cause and supported by the rising consciousness of our people, now enter upon the final stage of our work. That is, the stage of the mobilisation of all our resources to hasten the recognition of Pakistan by the comity of nations and to recover from the British-Bania Alliance the Millat's heritage in Pakasia.

I pray that, like its predecessors, this edition of the book may help towards accomplishing this final stage of our struggle; and that Allah and His Rasool may bless our humble efforts to write, in the immutable terms of Islam, the future history of our nation in Pakistan, and of our Millat in Pakasia!

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15th November, 1946.

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PART I

The Land

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Introductory Sketch:—PAKISTAN is the Fatherland of the Pak Nation. In other words, it is the land which lies in the north-west of the Continent of Dinia, otherwise known as the Sub-continent of India; and which constitutes the age-old national stronghold of the people who represent the original core and content of the Millat living in the Orbit of Pakasia.

It will therefore be seen that Pakistan is one of the most ancient and illustrious countries of the Orient. Not only that. It is the only country in the world which, in the antiquity of its legend and lore, as in the character of its history and hopes, compares with Iraq and Egypt—the countries which are known as the cradle of the achievements of Mankind.

This comparison will serve to remind the reader of certain primordial facts about Pakistan—facts which form the foundation of its own story and provide the pattern of that of Mankind.

What are these facts?

The first is that Pakistan was the birth-place of human culture and civilization. The second is that it was the earliest centre of the communal aggregation of human society. And the third—the most dynamic of all—is that, ever since the dawn of recorded history, it is the first and the strongest citadel of Islam in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It is therefore clear that, seen across the vistas of the ages gone by, these three facts constitute the original credentials of Pakistan in the human family. And, what is more, viewed in the light of its record under the Crescent and Stars, these credentials it has fully sustained in the modern world.

To say that is not to forget its present position in the comity of nations. It is simply to state that, even so, its record is second to that of none in the world. For there are

not many countries that can claim to have maintained their national sovereignty for an unbroken period of 1,145 years as can Pakistan from 712 to 1857. Again, there is hardly a country that has to its credit an enlightened and enlightening supremacy over immensely vast and varied territories for 840 years, as has Pakistan over the lands of the Continent of Dinia from 1017 to 1857. And, finally, there are few countries that, in a millennium of history, have suffered subjection for only 89 years, as has Pakistan since its fall in 1857.

Nor is that all. If we turn from the political field to the spiritual and social sphere, we shall find that therein, too, the record of Pakistan justifies its pride in its past and challenges comparison with that of any other Muslim nation in the world. And no wonder; for, as one of the main pillars of the Fraternity, throughout the eleven centuries of its own freedom and power, it brilliantly served the sacred cause as the standard-bearer of the saving message of Islam, as the herald of its liberating might, as the architect of its greatness in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and, last but by no means least, as the moulder of the fates or fortunes of many a country of the neighbouring Continent of Asia.

Even this record, great and glorious as it is, is not the end of the story of Pakistan. On the contrary, it is merely the end of a chapter. It only brings us down to the sad day of the country's eclipse in the last century—an eclipse which some wishful-thinkers mistook for, and misrepresented as, its death. That this was no more than a painful interlude in its life is evident from the fact that, despite desertion and betrayal from within and suppression and exploitation from without, it has, in the course of the past 89 years, accomplished at least three things of supreme importance to its future.

What are those things?

They are first that it has survived and recovered from the paralysing shock of its fall; secondly, that it has saved its Islamic soul from the dangerous confusion of "Indianism" created by the British-Bania Alliance; and, finally, that since 1933 it has started a new and nobler chapter in its history.

That is, a chapter of national re-generation and fraternal re-construction, the opening lines of which are being written by its people in their heroic fight for its national life and liberty and for its Milli Mission in the Continent of Dinia.

That, in spirit and substance, is Pakistan—of to-day.

Now, it is this Pakistan, which, within its *present* confines, comprises to-day, *geographically*, the ancient Mihran Valley, which is also known as the Indus Valley; *territorially*, the provinces of the Panjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh, Balochistan, Kachch, and Kathiawar, and some small tracts; *politically*, the 89-year-old Islamia *irridenta* in the north-west of the Continent of Dinia; and, *historically*, the oldest of the ten nations of the Millat living, on the one side, between the Pamir Plateau and the Dondra Head and, on the other, between the coast of Balochistan and the borders of Burma.

Again, it is this Pakistan which in its eternal conviction stands to-day, *spiritually*, as the frontier-guard of Muslim Asia against the mortal menace of "Indianism"; *nationally*, as the leader of the Muslims' fight against their "minoritization," "communalization," and "Indianization"; *internationally*, as the sponsor of the national integration and independence, each in its own fatherland, of all the peoples in the Continent, including the nations of the Millat in Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan; and *ideologically*, as the crusader for the conversion of the "Country of India" into "the Continent of Dinia," for the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia; and, above all, for the re-dedication of one hundred million Muslims to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her divine mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

Name:—It must be remembered that, in different periods of its life, Pakistan has had different names—names whose very variety epitomizes its past history, just as its present

name symbolizes its present position, its future prospects, and its ultimate destiny in the world.

To explain: In the long eras preceding the advent of the Holy Rasool, the first sovereign-saint of Pakistan, Hazart Al-Sindh, eponymized its nucleus as Al-Sindh; next, in the age of heathen mythology, its Hindoo hegemonists cunningly sanskritized this eponym as the Sindhu Valley; then, in the epoch of Alexander, its Macedonian invaders hellenically called it the Indus Valley; and after that, in the era of Islam's rise to power, its Muslim liberators historically distinguished it as Al-Sindh. Now, in the present period of British domination, of Indian conglomeration, and of Muslim re-integration, whereas its British captors imperially describe it as North-West India and its Caste Hindoo covetors satellitically design it as the hinterland of Hindoostan, its own proud, patriotic people nationally designate and fraternally dedicate it as Pakistan.

So, for the purposes of this study the reader should remember that this national designation, which for the sake of consistency and convenience I have used throughout the book, has in fact been borne by the country only since 1933. For, although I actually named it such much earlier, it was not until 28th January, 1933, that, in my first Declaration—*Now or Never*—calling for its separation from "India," I formally used the name, which, by the dispensation of Allah and the blessing of His Rasool, was ordained to ensure the elementary right of its people to a national solidarity under a national appellation. This means:

a right, which springs from the unity of their religion and race, of their language and literature, of their laws of life and liberty, and of their history and hopes;

a solidarity, which symbolizes the cause of their spiritual destiny, the community of their national identity, and the consolidation of their territorial patrimony; and

an appellation, which signalizes the breaking of their foul Indian fetters, the start of their fateful struggle for sovereignty, the re-integration of their national entity with

their brethren in Iran, Afghanistan, and Tukharistan, and the strengthening of their fraternal bonds with the other nations of the Crescent in Dinia, in Asia, and in the rest of the world.

So much for the national name and its present significance. In a subsequent chapter we shall revert to the subject and refer to its composition and its ultimate scope.

Situation:—*Geographically*, Pakistan is situated between the parallels $36^{\circ}.5'$ and $20^{\circ}.5'$ of north latitude and $61^{\circ}.2'$ and $82^{\circ}.0'$ east longitude; *physically*, it occupies, broadly speaking, the territories lying between the Iranian Plateau and the Pak-Raj Sahara on the one side, and the Jabaliya Range and the Pakian Sea on the other; and, *culturally*, it includes that compact zone of the vast realm of the Saracenic civilization of Islam which separates it from the varied region of the Aryan *sabhyata* of Caste Hindooism.

Dimensions:—The perimeter of Pakistan is about 7,000 miles, being made up of its land frontiers, which, without counting the minor bends, are more than 5,500 miles long, and of its coastline, which, without taking account of indentations, is well over 1,400 miles.

In point of its interior distances, the greatest length of the country, as measured from its easternmost point at the snow-clad Tibetan frontier to the westernmost tip of its sun-scorched coast of Balochistan, is approximately 1,350 miles, a distance roughly equal to that between London and Istanbul. Again, its extreme breadth, measured from the city of Allah Abad to the borders of Chitral, is nearly 980 miles, which is about the same distance as Berlin is from Moscow; although in the middle it is no more than 275 miles, even that is greater than the distance between Paris and the Hague.

Area:—The total area of Pakistan, including the areas of the Princely States, Political Agencies and Tribal Territories, aggregates about 521,000 square miles.

This shows that even in its present condition, restricted and reduced as it is, Pakistan remains one of the thirteen

largest countries of the world. It is nearly one and a half times the size of Egypt and twice that of Turkey. Again, it is more than twice that of pre-war Germany and nearly three times that of Spain.

Boundaries:—As politically constituted to-day, Pakistan is bounded on the north by Turkistan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan; on the west by Iran and the Pakian Sea; on the east by Turkistan, Tibet and Hindoostan; and on the south by Hindoostan, Rajistan, and Mahrashtar.

It will therefore be noticed that, as compared with its ancient national limits, which are represented in the composition of its name and which, broadly speaking, stretch, on the one side, from the Jamna to the Jaihoun and, on the other, from the Gulf of Kambay to the Caspian Sea, the current boundaries of Pakistan are so arbitrary and artificial that they correspond neither to the tables of history, nor to the truths of the present, nor to the trends of the future.

The reason is not far to seek. For nearly a century the land has been under the rule of British Imperialism, the primary aim of which, like all imperialisms, has been to find strategic frontiers for the defence of its own interests rather than fix national frontiers for the consolidation of the people concerned. It is this policy which is responsible for the confusion and conflict that exist about the boundaries of Pakistan as of other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

However, as our immediate concern is with the existing boundaries of Pakistan, we shall endeavour to supply their broad outline, although even that is not yet formally accepted by the British-Bania Alliance.

The Land Frontiers:—The land frontier of Pakistan starts in the east at the Nilang Pass, on the Pak-Tibet frontier, and, running northwards along the existing boundary between the Panjab and Kashmir on the one side and Tibet on the other for over 500 miles, it reaches a point about 45 miles to the north-east of Aksai Chin, where it joins the southern border of Turkistan, at present a Dependency of China.

From here, taking a north-westerly turn, it moves to the Povalo Shveikovsky Peak, where meet the three mountain ranges, the Karakorum, the Hindoo Kush and the Sarikol (an offshoot of the Kun Lun). Henceforth marching along the southern border of Tajikistan and Afghanistan, it ascends to the crest of the Hindoo Kush and then, rolling around the borders of Chitral in a south-westerly direction, reaches the Landi Khana, lying to the west of the Khaibar Pass.

Now, following westwards the political but anti-national and unnatural dividing line between Afghanistan and Afghanistan (North-West Frontier Province), it reaches Domandi, where the Gomal joins the Kundar. Turning in a south-westerly direction from Domandi, it crosses latitude 30° north, about 60 miles west of the Bolan Pass, and then running nearly due west strikes the Iranian border near Robat at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siyah, where meet three historic Pak lands: Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. From here, parting company with Afghanistan and moving along the south-easterly boundary of Iran, it comes down to a point near the confluence of the Rakhshan and the Mashkel and then, presently turning south-westwards, starts its final slant to the west of the mouth of the Dasht River on the sea-board of Balochistan.

To trace the south-eastern land frontier of Pakistan, we must go back to the Nilang Pass, the easternmost point from which we started. On this side, it runs south-westwards down to the Jamnotri Springs in the Kumaon Hills and then to the source of the Jamna, which, from there down to its confluence with the Ganges near Allah Abad, becomes the boundary-river between Pakistan and Hindoostan—the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh. Leaving the river bank from Allah Abad, it moves south-west again along the present frontier of Hindoostan and so enclosing the long, narrow and irregular strip of territory to the south-west of the Jamna now included in Hindoostan, marches northwards till it touches the border of the Panjab.

From this spot, following the current boundary between the Panjab and Sindh on the one side and Rajistan on the other, it comes to a point near Bakhasar on the northern edge of the Rann of Kachch, and thence passing round the marshland of the Rann and enclosing a part of the Palanpur Agency and the whole of Kathiawar it meets the Gulf of Kambay, which forms the southern arm of the Pakian Sea.

Coastline:—The coastline of Pakistan starts from the mouth of the River Mahi on the Gulf of Kambay and, running right round Kathiawar, comes to Tuna on the southern coast of Kachch and thence to Kori Creek. From this point, following north-westwards a fairly uniform course along the seaboard of Sindh and Balochistan, it reaches a point to the west of the mouth of the Dasht River.

Islands:—If we except the hilly Chanka islet in the Rann of Kachch, there are some eight islands along the coastline of Pakistan. Of these, one is the legendary Hashtala, which lies off "the romantic, rock-ribbed" coast of Makran; and the other is the Churna off the Ras Muari, along the coast of Balochistan.

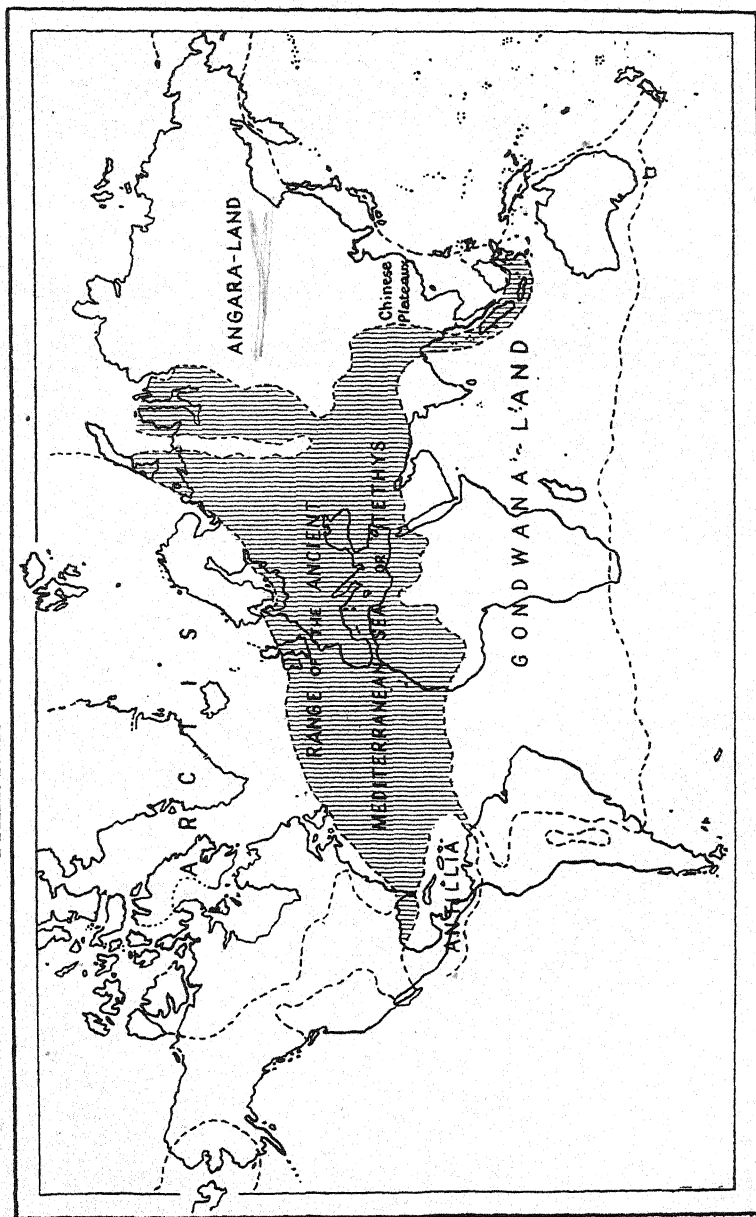
In addition to these there are, in the South Pakian Sea, the Chanch, the Shial, and the Diu Islands off the south coast, and the Beyt Islands off the west coast of Kathiawar; and the Piram Island in the Gulf of Kambay.

There is also the Bakhar Island, which lies right in the middle of the Mihran, between the towns of Rohri and Sukkur, Sindh. It is about "800 yards long by 300 wide, and about 25 feet in height." It stands between the islets of Khawaja Khizar, "containing a shrine of much sanctity" and of Sadh Bela, "also possessing some . . . shrines." It has had an eventful history and, until recent times, it was a place of great military importance, and in times of crisis its command was given only to first-class soldiers.

The Island is still fortified and almost the whole of it "is occupied by the fortress, the walls of which are double, and

from 30 to 35 feet high, with numerous bastions . . .; they have two gateways, one facing Rohri on the east, and the other Sukkur on the west."

PAKISTAN IN GEOLOGICAL TIMES



CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Geology being the mother of geography, it would be helpful if, before dealing with the physical features of Pakistan, we briefly refer to the geology of the country. For, the story of its geology is both interesting and instructive. It is interesting because it explains the physical structure of the country and it is instructive because it vindicates its fight for sovereign nationhood in the Continent of Dinia.

Let us, therefore, turn to the scientists and see what they have to say on the matter.

As we do so, we find that their main conclusions are summed up as follows:

First, that in the Palæozoic and Mesozoic periods of the development of the planet, Pakistan was part of a "broad and deep channel" of the ocean, called the Tethys; and that, for millions of years, this channel separated Asia from Europe and from Gondwanaland—the continent which comprised among other countries the present-day "Peninsular India," Australia, most of the lands of Africa, and some parts of America.

Secondly, that, in the process of the evolution of the planet, which lasted for countless centuries, the river-deposits filled up this channel of the Tethys Ocean and thereby formed the land which is now called Pakistan.

Thirdly, that the mountains of the country date from comparatively recent times; and that they are the result of a colossal convulsion of the earth in the Cainozoic period of geology—a convulsion which threw up the masses of crust at a stage of formation when "water had not had time to wear down their summits," as it had in the case of what to-day constitutes the Plain of Pakistan.

Finally, that it is this interplay of the forces of nature

which has given the country its physical features, its contour and conformation, its scenery and soil.

Such in brief is the story of the geological origin and development of Pakistan.

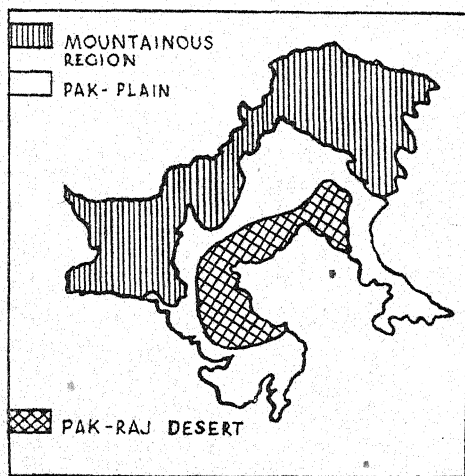
It may be asked what fundamental instruction this holds for the Paks in their national struggle.

The answer is that it establishes the all-important fact that, even a hundred million years ago when there was neither mammal nor man, Pakistan, in its geology, occupied essentially the same position *vis-à-vis* "India" and Asia as it has done since the formation of its geography about a quarter of a million years ago.

And what is that position?

It is the position of a physical unit which is independent of, and distinct from, "India." In other words, it is the position for the recognition of which the country has been fighting since 1933.

After this passing but none the less enlightening reference to the geology of Pakistan, we shall now describe its topography.



The Physical Divisions of Pakistan

It is obvious that Pakistan is a country of well-marked physical features. It has its mighty mountains with their "heaven-kissing" heights; it has its great rivers almost all flowing from the same direction to the same destination; it has its vast plain with a singularly even surface; and it has its coastline running a uniform and regular course.

We shall deal with these features in the above order and begin with the mountains.

MOUNTAINS

On the north, north-east, and north-west, Pakistan is girdled by ranges of mountains, the most important of which lie partly within its territory and partly outside it; but all of which render manifold service to its life. Thus they form its defensive ramparts; they feed its rivers; and, in a sense, they make it what it is and sustain it as it is.

Of these the following are the most important:—

The Pamir:—The Pamir (*Pai-i-Mir*, the foot of the eminences) lies to the extreme north-west of Pakistan and comprises eight regions of the Plateau.

Geographically, a tableland; physically, a link between Turkistan and Tibet; geologically, the Pamir is the pivot of the mountain system of Pakistan. In fact, it is the axis of the mountain systems of the Continents of Dinia and Asia. For, from it radiate not only the Pak mountains—the Jabaliya Range towards the south-east, the Karakorum Range towards the east, and the Hindoo Kush Range towards the south and south-west, but also the non-Pak mountains—the Kun Lun Range, the Tian Shan Range, and the Altai Range.

The whole region of the Pamir, which is known as the Pamir Plateau, extends over an area of 22,500 square miles and has a mean elevation of 13,000 feet, an elevation which has earned for it the title of *Bam-i-Dunya*—"the Roof of the World." The two highest peaks of the range, the Mustagh Ata and Mount Dufferin, rise to about 25,000 feet and compare with some of the giants of the Jabaliya.

C

Throughout the ages the Pamir has been traversable by three routes, all starting from Yarqand. One of these leads to Turkistan, the second to Badakhshan, and the third to Chitral.

Again, in the south it is crossed by three passes; the Beylik (15,150 feet) leading into Sarikol; the Wakhjir (16,150 feet) leading into the Wakhan Valley; and the Kilik (15,600 feet) leading into the Gilgit.

The Jabaliya:—The Jabaliya* (*Jabl-ul-Aliya*, the Great Mountain) which lies in the north-east and north of Pakistan, is the mightiest mountain range in the world. In fact, so immense is the Range that "if all the mountains of Switzerland could be thrown down there in one place the group would hardly be noticeable at a short distance."

Although the Range is a single geological unit, geographers generally divide the Jabaliya into three sections: the Sikkam Jabaliya, the Kumaon Jabaliya, and the Laddakh Jabaliya. Of these we are concerned only with the Laddakh section and that part of the Kumaon section which includes the source of the Jamna. For, it is these which constitute the Pak Jabaliya and comprise the

* Jabaliya (*Jabl-ul-Aliya*, the Great Mountain) is the name given by the writer to the Himalaya. It is inspired by the same reasons that inspired him to name "North-West India" Pakistan.

The name "Himalaya," being made up of the Sanskrit words "*Him Alaya*," meaning the "Abode of Snow," was Caste Hindoo in origin, in conception, and in composition; and it was given at the time of Caste Hindoo hegemony over Pakistan. It is obvious that to-day it had a double disqualification and dangerous implications. For, it was, to the Paks, a reminder of the old Caste Hindoo hegemony over Pakistan, and, to the Caste Hindoos, a reviver of their hopes of future hegemony. So it had to go; for, Pakistan is no longer a Caste Hindoo country, nor will it ever be. On the contrary, it is—and ever will be—a Muslim land. And in a Muslim land there is no room or reason for the non-Muslim names that de-Islamize its atmosphere and endanger its existence.

It is true the word "Himalaya" could have been translated into Pak but that would have involved the acceptance of the alien conception underlying the old name—a conception which is repugnant to the Muslim science of semantics. Hence the name, *Jabaliya*, which in core, content, and composition, is Pak and, therefore, pre-eminently suits this mountain of Pakistan and its position in the world,

Zaskar Range, extending between Kangra and Laddakh; the Pangri Range, extending between Kullu and Kagan; and the Pir-Panjal Range, extending between the Hazara Hills and the Rotang Pass.

Starting about 800 miles down in the south-east, the Jabaliya appears at the Nilang Pass, which is the starting-point of the eastern frontier of Pakistan and, zigzagging northwards, it curves round the country for about twelve hundred miles. It has an average height of about 20,000 feet; but its many peaks soar over 22,000 feet. Of these the loftiest in Pakistan are the Nanga Parbat (26,620 feet) in Kashmir and the Spiti (23,000 feet) in the Panjab.

Of the few good gateways which the Jabaliya has the most important are the Zojila and the Nilang—both of which lead into Tibet.

The scenery of the Range is remarkable for its variety. In fact no other mountains present anything like the sharp, staggering contrast that is to be found between the vegetation of its northern and the barrenness of its southern slopes. However, such is the massiveness of the Jabaliya that, wherever one looks, one cannot help being overwhelmed by its majesty. Of this aspect of the Range, Moncrieff says:—

“The snow-line, twice as high as on the Alps, varies . . . from 16,000 to 20,000 feet, . . . many of the tops shine out through the clouds clad in eternal white, dimly visible hundreds of miles away across the sultry plains below. Among them wind glaciers, forty or fifty miles long, . . . huge avalanches thunder through the roars of the storm, . . . all the familiar features of the Alpine scenery are repeated on a vaster scale, in more appalling aspects of rugged barrenness seldom seen close at hand by eyes which can make the comparison. No foot is known to have touched the crown of the mountain monarchs that overlook Northern India.”

It is obvious that the Jabaliya dominates the country. In fact, it does more than that. Atmospherically, it conditions its air and temperature; meteorologically, it controls its rainfall and water supply; militarily, it strengthens its defence; and, scientifically, it provides an invaluable laboratory for the geologist, the botanist, and the biologist.

The Saliks:—The Saliks,* also called the Sub-Jabaliya and hitherto known by their old Hindoo name “Sivaliks,” meaning “belonging to Siva,” comprise the foothills of the Jabaliya and lie partly in Pakistan and partly in Hindoostan. In Pakistan they lie in the Panjab and in Afghanistan and, for the purposes of this sketch, they may be referred to as the Panjab Saliks and the Afghanistan Saliks.

The Panjab Saliks extend both east and west of the Jehlum. On the east they include the hills in the Nahan State, and in the Districts of Kangra, Hoshiarpur (where they are known as the Katar Range) and Gurdaspur, in the Jammun division of Kashmir, and in the Pabbi Hills in Gujrat; and on the west they comprise the ridges of the Tertiary Age in Jehlum, Rawalpindi and Attock Districts.

The Panjab Saliks have an average width of 10 miles, an elevation of 2,000 to 3,500 feet, and an area of about 13,000 square miles.

The Afghanistan Saliks lie mostly in Kohat District and occupy the same position relative to the Sulaiman Range as do the Panjab Saliks to the Jabaliya. These are known for the Palaeontological remains of mammals, reptiles, birds, and fishes found in them.

The Salt Range:—The Salt Range, also known as the Koh-i-Jud, comprises the hills in the Jehlum, Shahpur, and Mianwali Districts of the Panjab. It is divided into “two main chains running east and west and embracing between them an elevated tableland.”

The eastern chain begins in the Chail in Jehlum District and, after spreading over parts of Shahpur and Mianwali Districts, disappears for some distance, only to reappear at Mari near Kalabagh. The other chain is really

* The new name, Saliks, given by the writer to these hills, has been inspired by two considerations. First, morally, the word *Salik*, as opposed to *Siva*, has a Pak significance and second, botanically, Sal forms the chief product of the hills,

the Mianwali spur of the Range, which, dividing Bannun and Dera Ismail Khan Districts, finally joins the Waziristan Hills in Afghanistan.

It is one of the most ancient ranges of Pakistan and contains "notable records of three distinct eras in geological history." Naturally, therefore, time has had its effect on the Range, which has so seriously suffered from "the waste of ages" that its loftiest peaks, the Sakesar, the Chail and the Tilla, rise no higher than 5,010; 3,701; and 3,242 feet respectively.

The Salt Range owes its name and its importance to "the beds of rock-salt that occur on the edges of the plateau and form the largest known deposits in the world." Of the several mines which are being worked there, the most important are the Kheora in Jhelum District, the Warcha in Shahpur District, and the Kalabagh in Mianwali District.

The Karakorum:—The Karakorum (the Black-Rubble, named after the old capital of Changez Khan) was first explored and described by Mirza Muhammad Haidar in 1533. Of course since that time it has been surveyed by several explorers, including Elphinstone in 1808 and Martin Conway in 1892.

It originates near the Pangong Lake and runs roughly north of, and parallel to, the Jabaliya. Thus it occupies the region lying between the Hunza-Gilgit Valley and the Nubra-Shyok Valley and thereby forms "the most important watershed in Central Asia."

The Range possesses several majestic peaks, the loftiest of which are the Chogori (28,265 feet), the second highest in the world, and the Gasherbrum (26,360 feet). From this one can well imagine how wonderful would be the view from the summits of such peaks when, even at the height of 23,000 feet, Sir Martin Conway's party saw:—

"ridge behind ridge, peak behind peak, higher and higher, tier above tier, with ribs of rock and crests of snow, and deep-lying valleys of ice-bound splendour, till the eye, bewildered by so much magnificence, ceased attempting to unravel the mountain maze,

and was content to rest upon the whole as an impression, single and complete."

Among other notable features of the Karakorum may be mentioned first its passes: the Shimshal (15,000 feet), the Saser (17,500 feet), and the Karakorum (18,550 feet); and secondly its glaciers, one of which, the Siachen, forming a mass of ice more than 45 miles in length, is believed to be "the largest in the world."

The Hindoo Kush:—The Hindoo Kush (the Hindoo-slayer) is the south-westward extension of the Jabaliya and, from the point of its origin in the Pamir region to the point of its junction with the Koh-i-Baba in Afghanistan, it is about 500 miles long.

The Range lies for the most part in Afghanistan and, on the whole, it is the second highest in the world. It possesses for its highest peaks the Rakhiposhi (25,500 feet) and the Tirach Mir (25,426 feet), both of which rival some of the world-famous peaks of the Jabaliya.

It is worth remembering that the Hindoo Kush, which has been called "a veritable highway of the nations," is most intimately associated with the history of Pakistan. For, in the last twelve centuries, it is through its passes, such as the Baroghil, the Dorah, the Mandal, and the Bamian, that there have marched men of destiny whose dynamic deeds have re-mapped the whole Continent of Dinia and at least half the Continent of Asia; and whose achievements have shown that he who holds the Hindoo Kush commands Pakistan and controls Pakasia.

The Safed Koh:—The Safed Koh (the White Mountain), which derives its name from the fact that "its skyline is rarely free from snow," is physically a part of the Hindoo Kush system of mountains and nationally the stronghold of the famous Afridi and Orakzai tribes of Afghanistan. It divides the valleys of the Kurram and the Kabul and constitutes, from Landikhana to the Paiwar Pass, the political boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Koh is noted for its towering ridges, which culminate in the Sikaram, attaining an altitude of 15,620 feet.

The Waziristan Hills:—These barren, forbidding hills lie between the Kurram and Gomal Passes and comprise the high lands which are the citadel of the well-known Wazir tribe of Afghanistan.

These hills form part of the Koh-i-Sulaiman and their highest peaks, Sheikh Haidar (11,000 feet) and Pir Ghal (11,600 feet), dominate Birmal.

The Black Mountain:—The Black Mountain, which is the stronghold of the renowned Yousafzai and Swathi tribes of Afghanistan, lies on the north-western border of Hazara District. It is 25 to 30 miles long and rises to about 8,000 feet above sea-level.

Although the slopes of the mountain are treeless and stony, its crests are thickly wooded and have forests of pine, oak, and wild cherry.

The Samana Range:—The Samana Range lies between the Miranzai Valley and the Khanki Valley in Afghanistan and thus separates the Thal from Tirah. It has several peaks rising from 5,000 to 6,500 feet above sea-level.

The Range is well guarded and on its highest peaks are several forts, among which Lockhart, Saragarhi, and Gulistan are important.

The Koh-i-Sulaiman:—The Koh-i-Sulaiman shapes the course of the Mihran for about 250 miles and lies between the Gomal and the Mihran. Thus it divides Balochistan from Afghanistan and the Panjab, and ends at the meeting-point of the borders of Balochistan, Sindh, and the Panjab.

The Koh is known for its lofty peaks, its shrine, and its strategic places and passes. The highest peak is the Kaisargarh, which stands 11,295 feet above sea-level and has a forest of *chilgoza* (edible pine) on its crest. About two miles south of this peak lies the far-famed Shrine called the

Takhat-i-Sulaiman (Throne of Solomon) which has given its name to the whole range. Of its strategic places, Fort Sandeman and Fort Munro are important.

The Toba-Kakar Range:—The Toba-Kakar Range is an extension of the Safed-Koh. It lies in the Zhob and Quetta-Pishin Districts of Balochistan, divides Balochistan from Afghanistan, and forms the watershed between Pakistan and Central Asia.

The Range is about 300 miles long and has three peaks, the Sakir (10,125), the Kand (10,788), and the Nigand (9,438). The Kamchugai glen in the Kand provides one of the most charming features of the Range.

The Central Ibrahimi Range:—The Central Ibrahimi (Brahui) Range, which is an offshoot of the Koh-i-Sulaiman, runs through the Qalat State and the Quetta-Pishin District of Balochistan. It has a total length of about 225 miles and a breadth of about 70 miles.

The Range is covered with vegetation and forests of juniper, and claims some of the highest peaks in Balochistan, of which the most notable are the Khalifat (11,440 feet), the Zarghoun (11,738 feet), the Koh-i-Maran (10,730 feet), the Takatu (11,375 feet), and the Kakku (9,830 feet).

The Pab Range:—The Pab Range runs through the Qalat and Las Bela States of Balochistan and comprises the Khudo, Mor and Hala Hills. It has a total length of 190 miles and a breadth of about 70 miles.

Apart from its highest peak, Pharas, which rises to 7,759 feet above sea-level, the Range is noted for its passes, namely the Lar Lak, Churi, Baran Lak, and Jau Lak, and for the shrine of Shah Bilawal lying on its southernmost point.

The Chagai Hills:—The Chagai Hills occupy that region of Balochistan which lies to the west of the Hamun-i-

Lora. They have a length of about 90 miles, a breadth of 35 miles, and an average height of 6,000 feet.

The highest peaks of the main range are the Maran (7,309 feet), the Malik Teznan (7,686 feet), and the Malik Naru (7,915 feet).

The Siahan Range:—The Siahan Range, which lies between Makran and Kharan, is 176 miles long and 20 miles broad. It has two main branches: the eastern branch, which is called the Band, and the southern, which is called the Koh-i-Sabz.

The Range has an average height of about 5,000 feet and is noted for its narrow passes—the Tank-i-Grawag and the Tank-i-Zurrati.

The Central Makran Range:—The Central Makran Range rises in the Jhalawan region of the Qalat State and covers the central part of Makran. It has a total length of 250 miles and a breadth of 45 miles.

The Range, which is very sparsely populated, is chiefly noted for its rocks of sandstone and limestone and for its rather lofty ridges, of which the highest are the Zangi Lak (6,166 feet), the Koh-i-Patandar (7,490 feet), and the Kech Band (3,816 feet).

The Makran Coast Range:—The Makran Coast Range, also called the Bahr-i-Garr, runs along the coast of the Pakian Sea between the Dasht River and the Las Bela State. It has a length of 280 miles and a breadth of 35 to 70 miles.

The highest peaks of this barren, treeless range are the Dhrun (5,177 feet), the Janzat (4,345 feet), the Gurangatti (3,906 feet), and the Taloi (3,022 feet).

The Kirthar Range:—The Kirthar Range, which runs between Sindh and Balochistan, is "a solid wall of rock, so rigid, so straight and unscalable as to form a veritable impassable barrier." It is about 190 miles long and 60 miles

broad and for its highest peak has the Zardak, rising to 7,430 feet above sea-level.

In addition to these ranges there are several small hills in Kachch and Kathiawar which must be briefly noticed.

In the former are the Kachch Hills culminating in the Dhinodhar (1,000 feet), and the Rann Hills, rising to about 625 feet; and in the latter are the Thanga and Mandva Hills in Jhalawar; the Gir Range near Gogha; the Osam, the Barda, and the Girnar.

VOLCANOES

If we except the extinct volcanoes and mud-volcanoes, there is no volcano in Pakistan. Of the extinct ones the Dhinodar is in Kachch, and the Damodim and Koh-i-Sultan are in the Noshki District of Balochistan. The Koh-i-Sultan is by far the largest of the three volcanoes. It is about 20 miles long and 14 miles broad and has two remarkable features: its "three distinct cones, and the Neza-i-Sultan, 'the Sultan's spear'—a large pillar about 300 feet in diameter and 800 feet high."

RIVERS

The rivers of Pakistan play a vital, versatile part in its life. They serve it as a means of communication, as boundary-lines between its different provinces and principalities, and, above all, as the perpetual fertilizers of its soil and the unfailing sources of its irrigation.

It is, therefore, essential that we should bear in mind the oft-forgotten fact that they have not always flowed in the beds wherein they flow to-day. On the contrary, from time to time they have changed their courses and taken to new channels.

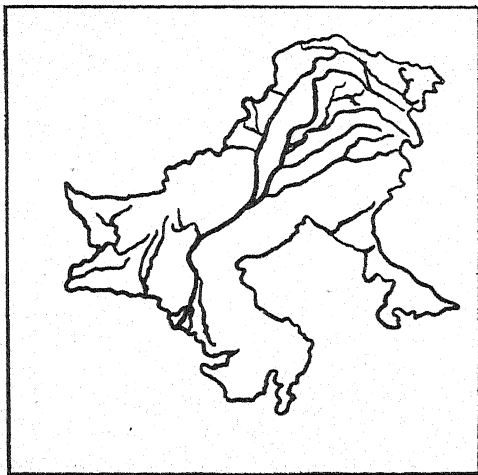
Thus there was a time when the Jamna, which is now the boundary-river between Pakistan and Hindoostan, was a purely Pak river; and, instead of flowing into the Ganges as

at present, it used to flow into the Mihran, otherwise known as the Indus.

Again, it is a well-known fact that the Chinab and the Jehlum, which to-day join the Mihran at Mithankot, used to flow into the Mihran at Uch in the 17th century. In those days "Multan was situated on the Ravi; now it is 36 miles from the confluence of that river with the Chinab. One hundred and fifty years ago the Beas deserted its old bed, which can still be recognized between Montgomery and Multan, and joined up with the Sutlej near Firozpur, several hundred miles upstream."

Lastly, it is a historical fact that at the beginning of the Pak period the Mihran "had a very much more easterly course, and discharged its waters at first in the Gulf of Cambay and then into the Rann of Cutch." This fact is borne out not only by "the popular traditions" but also by "the physical evidence" that still exists "both in Sindh and Cutch."

So much for the changes in the channels of the rivers of Pakistan. Now, for a few particulars of their sources and basins.



The Rivers of Pakistan

Excluding some of the small rivers to which we shall refer at the end of this section, the great river-system of Pakistan includes the Jamna, the Mihran, and its principal affluents, namely, the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chinab, the Jehlum, the Kabul, and the Swat; and the Balochistan rivers, namely, the Hingol, the Nari, the Zhob, the Pishin Lora, the Porali, the Rakhshan, and the Dasht.

The Jamna:—The Jamna rises about five miles north of Jamnotri in the Jabaliya and, from its source down to its confluence with the Ganges, has an independent course of about 860 miles and a drainage basin of about 118,000 square miles.

For the first 95 miles it flows through the Jabaliya Mountains, wherein it receives several streams including the Ton; and then, emerging into the plains of Faizabad in Saharanpur District, at present incorporated in Hindoostan, it is joined on its way to Hameerpur by the Chambal. Finally, turning to the east from Hameerpur, it flows towards Parag, near Allah Abad, where it falls into the Ganges.

The Sutlej:—The Sutlej is the longest of the "five rivers" of the Panjab. It rises in the Ganglung Glacier in Tibet and has a course of 900 miles. Flowing first into the Manasarowar and the Rakas Lakes and then through the gorges of the Jabaliya, it meets the Pak frontier near the Shipki Pass. From this important pass, winding its way through the mountains, it runs in the Simla Hills States.

From there, piercing the Saliks, it enters Hoshiarpur District, wherein near Anandpur taking a southeasterly direction it reaches Ropar in Ambala District. Now, turning west, it "divides the Jullundur Doab from the Sirhind plateau," and then receives the Beas near Sobraon.

Thence the combined stream, running a south-westerly course and "dividing the Bari Doab to the north from the

sandy plains of Ferozpur and Bahawalpur to the south," joins the united waters of the Ravi, Chinab, and Jhelum near Madwala. From this place the five rivers, merging into one, flow for about 44 miles towards Mithankot, where they fall into the Mihran.

The Beas:—The Beas is the smallest of the rivers of the Panjab, possessing a course of only 290 miles. It rises near the Rotang Pass in the Kullu Mountains and, after flowing through the Mandi State and Kangra District, it meets the Saliks in Hoshiarpur District.

From here, separating that district from Kangra and Gurdaspur Districts, it contacts Jullundur District "for a few miles"; and then, dividing Amritsar District from the Kapurthala State, it falls into the Sutlej near Sobraon.

The Ravi:—The Ravi also rises near the Rotang Pass in the Kullu Mountains and, before joining the Chinab, runs an independent course of 450 miles.

After flowing through the Chamba Hills, it enters Gurdaspur District, and then, running between Sialkot and Amritsar Districts, it passes by the city of Lahore. After this, entering Montgomery and Multan Districts, it falls into the Chinab.

The Chinab:—The Chinab rises in the canton of Lahul in the Jabaliya and has a total course of 755 miles. It flows through the Chamba State and the Jammun Division of Kashmir and at Khairi Rihal enters Sialkot District. Then, receiving the Távi, it separates Gujrat and Shahpur Districts from Sialkot and Gujranwala Districts and, traversing Jhang District, unites with the Jhelum at Trimmu.

From this place the combined stream, still called the Chinab, flows down towards its junction with the Ravi near Sidhu and finally, forming "Trimab" (Triple Stream), joins the Sutlej at Madwala.

The Jehlum:—The Jehlum is the river of both Kashmir and the Panjab. It issues from the Saleem Spring (also called the Vernag) in Kashmir and has a total course of 450 miles. From the Saleem, after flowing for 15 miles, it reaches Khanabal, where it receives several small streams. From Khanabal it flows through Srinagar and into the Wular Lake, and thence reaches the town of Baramula, which lies at a distance of about 117 miles from its source.

Now, rushing through the gorges of the Kashmir Mountains for about 70 miles, it emerges at Domel—"the Confluence"—where it is joined by the Kishenganga. From Domel, taking a southerly direction, it reaches Kohala in the Panjab, and then, coursing through the plains, comes down to the town of Jehlum. From here, separating the Districts of Jehlum and Gujrat, it traverses Jehlum, Shahpur, and Jhang Districts, and finally unites with the Chinab at Trimmu, about ten miles from Maghiana.

The Mihran:—The Mihran, also known as the Indus, is the longest, the greatest, and the most truly national river of Pakistan, and its course lies through most of the provinces of the country.

Rising near the Manasarowar Lake in the Tibetan part of the Jabaliya, it traverses almost the whole length of the country and covers a total course of about 1,800 miles and a drainage basin of 372,700 square miles.

For the first 160 miles of its course it is known as the Singikabab but, after receiving the Ghar, it flows under the name of the Mihran and, entering Kashmir about 200 miles from its source, receives the Zaskar near Leh, and the Shyok above Skardo.

From here the combined stream flowing through the mountains reaches Jalkot, whence, leaving the Kashmir frontier, it enters Afghanistan near Gur. Now it courses through the Kohistan and the Hazara District of that Province and, emerging into the Panjab opposite the historic town of Attock, receives the Kabul.

From Attock onwards the Mihran flows in a southerly direction, first between the Panjab and Afghanistan, and then through the Panjab, where just above Mithankot it is joined by the united water of the five rivers called the Panjnad (Five Streams). Thereafter the combined stream runs towards the Province of Sindh, entering it near Kashmor.

In Sindh, taking a south-westerly course, it flows right through the Province for about 450 miles, and finally empties itself into the Pakian Sea near Karachi.

The delta of the Mihran extends for some 125 miles along the coast of Pakistan and has an area of about 3,000 square miles.

The Kabul:—The Kabul issues from a spring near the Unai Pass and takes its name from the capital of Afghanistan, which is situated on its right bank. In its course through Afghan territory it is joined by no fewer than six streams; and consequently by the time it leaves the Afghan frontier it becomes a large river, impossible to ford.

Now winding its way through the Mahmond Hills, it emerges near the Michni Fort in the Peshawar District of Afghanistan. Then, flowing through that Province, it receives the Swat at Nisatta and, after a total course of about 316 miles, falls into the Mihran at Attock in the Panjab.

The Swat:—The Gabral, rising near the Badugai Pass, and the Ushu, issuing from the hills of Bashkar, unite at Kalan in Swat in Afghanistan and receive the name of the Swat. From there, the combined stream traverses the Peshawar Valley and after a total course of 400 miles joins the Kabul at Nisatta.

The Hingol:—The Hingol rises in the Harboi Hills and, with its course of 358 miles, is the longest river of Balochistan. It drains the areas of Jhalawan in the Qalat State and of Makran, and empties its waters into the Pakian Sea.

The Nari:—The Nari has its source near Spiraragha and its total course is 300 miles in Balochistan. It drains the north-western parts of the province and, after receiving the Dada and Sangan rivulets, it emerges into the Kachchi plain and reaches Sindh.

The Zhob:—The Zhob issues from a point "on the east of Pishin" and, from its source down to its junction with the Gomal, has an independent course of 240 miles. With its chief tributaries, the Kandil, the Sretoi, and the Sawar, it drains the north-eastern parts of Balochistan.

The Pishin-Lora:—The Pishin-Lora rises in the western slopes of the Kand Hills and, after a total course of 250 miles, terminates in the Hamun-i-Lora. On its way to the Hamun, it receives the Barshor Lora, the Kakar Lora, the Surkhbab, and the Shorarud, and so drains the Sarawan, Quetta-Pishin, and the Nushki areas of Balochistan.

The Mula:—The Mula issues from the Harboi Hills in central Balochistan and has a total course of 180 miles. With its principal tributaries, the Malghawe, the Anjira, and the Leday, it drains nearly half the Jhalawan and the Kachchi areas in the Qalat State of Balochistan.

The Rakhshan:—The Rakhshan rises near Shireza and has a total length of 258 miles. Receiving the Gwargo on the west of Panjgur, it joins the Mashkel, the river from Iran; and then, flowing under the latter name, it falls into the Hamun-i-Mashkel.

The Dasht:—The Dasht is the name of the joint stream of the Nihing and the Kech Kaur, which irrigates the south-western region of Makran. It runs a course of 250 miles and falls into the Pakian Sea.

In addition to these rivers, there are several small streams of which we shall notice the Sarasti and the Ghagar in the

Panjab; the Bara, the Kurram, and the Tochi in Afghanistan; the Hab in Sindh; the Porali in Balochistan; and the Bhadar rivers in Kathiawar.

The Sarasti issues from the hills in the Sirmour State and, traversing Ambala and Karnal Districts, joins the Ghagar after an independent course of about 110 miles. The Ghagar, which also rises in the Sirmour State, flows through the Patiala State and the Panjab Districts of Ambala, Karnal and Hissar and then, entering Rajistan, is lost in the parched sands of the Bikaner State.

The Bara rises in the Tirah Hills and, traversing Peshawar District, it falls into the Kabul after a total course of 100 miles. **The Kurram** rises in Afghanistan and, entering the Kurram Valley near Kharlachi, it traverses the Kurram Agency and then, reaching Thal in Kohat District, takes a southerly direction and flows through Bannun District. Thereafter, piercing its way through the hills, it emerges into the Isakhel Plain and empties its waters into the Mihran, opposite Mianwali. **The Tochi** also rises in Afghanistan and, flowing through Waziristan and Bannun District, it falls into the Kurram after a course of 125 miles.

The Hab rises in the Pab Range and flows as the boundary river between Sindh and Balochistan. It is a fairly longish river, having a total course of 240 miles. It irrigates areas in both provinces and falls into the Pakian Sea. Last of all we come to the **Porali**, which rises near Wad and, with its affluents, drains the southern region of Jhalawan in the Qalat State and also some areas in the Las Bela State of Balochistan. It runs a course of 175 miles before falling into the Pakian Sea at Miani Hor.

In Kathiawar there are only two rivers which call for notice. Both of these rivers rise in the Mandab Hills and are called by the name of Bhadar. One of them falls into the Pakian Sea and the other into the Gulf of Kambay.

THE SPRINGS

There are numerous springs in the mountains of Pakistan, especially in the Jabaliya. Some of these are fresh-water springs, some thermal, and some mineral springs.

The best known of the fresh-water springs are the four lovely springs in Kashmir: the Saleem (Vernag), which was built by Emperor Jahangir; the Islamabad (Anantnag), known as "the place of the countless springs"; the Safab (Kokarnag), called "the best source of drinking water"; and the Shahi, which for its beauty and for the quality of its water "stands high in order of merit."

The thermal and mineral springs of Pakistan are found mostly in the Panjab, Punchh and Sindh. Thus there is the spring at Manikarn in Kullu in the Kangra District of the Panjab, whose water, supposed to be good for rheumatism, is so hot that the people boil their rice and "cook their food in it." Then there are the mineral springs near Jawalamukhi, the water of which, being "impregnated with common salt and iodide of potassium," is used for the treatment of goitre.

There are also the sulphurous springs of Tatta Pani, Saira, and Rajāori in Punchh; of Lakhi, Pir Mangho, Shah Ruhi, and Pir Ghazi in Sindh; of Dandi, Algud, and Margalla in Afghanistan; and of the Gaureji in Balochistan.

THE LAKES

If we except the lake-strewn region lying near the Kashmir-Tibet frontier, there are only a few large lakes in Pakistan and their part in its drainage system is very limited.

However, of these the following are noteworthy:—

The Tsomoriri:—The Tsomoriri, which lies about 15,000 feet above sea-level, is a saline, land-locked lake in Rupshu in the Laddakh territory of Kashmir. It is 15

miles in length and four in breadth, and has an area of about 60 square miles.

The Pangong:—The Pangong is another saline lake situated east of central Laddakh. It lies at an elevation of 14,000 feet and has an area of 120 square miles.

The Wular:—The Wular is a beautiful lake in the Vale of Kashmir. It lies 5,180 feet above sea-level, has an area of $12\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and constitutes the "largest body of fresh water" in the Continent of Dinia and in South Asia. Apart from its natural beauty, its great attraction for the people lies in the fact that "on its western shore. . . stands the celebrated shrine of Shukar-ud-Din," the saint who is revered for his memorable services to the cause of Islam and the Millat in Kashmir.

The Dal:—The Dal lies a little to the north of Srinagar and has an area of about ten square miles. In itself "one of the most beautiful spots in the world," the lake has its charm further enhanced by the natural surroundings provided by the Takhat-i-Sulaiman, the Nishat Bagh, and the Shalamar Bagh.

The Manasbal:—The Manasbal is a small but superb lake in the Vale of Kashmir. It lies between the snowy cliffs of the Jabaliya and is "celebrated for its picturesque beauty." No wonder it was the favourite lake of the Empress Noor Jahan, who had a palace built on its banks.

The Najafgarh:—The Najafgarh lies in the Delhi Division, about 16 miles from the city of Delhi. It is formed by the numerous torrents from the hills which discharge their waters in its marshes; and in the month of October when it is full "it submerges about 27,000 acres."

The Manchhar:—The Manchhar lies in the Schwan *taluga* of the Larkana District in Sindh and is fed by the

Nara, the Aral, and the hill-torrents. It is one of the largest salt-water lakes in Pakistan and covers in the flood season an area of about 200 square miles. Apart from its size, the lake is famous for its lotus flowers, wild fowl, and fish.

The Makhi:—The Makhi is a big saline lake in the Thar-Parkar District of Sindh. It has a length of twelve miles, a breadth of ten miles and a circumference of 50 miles. It is noted for "the large quantities of salt" that are obtained from its waters and for the part which, like other lakes of Sindh, it has played in the development of the ancient soda industry of Pakistan.

The Siranda:—The Siranda, which is a land-locked, brackish lake in the Miani sub-division of the Las Bela State in Balochistan, has an area of about 18 square miles. The lake is famous for its fish and for the water fowl which resort to it in large numbers in the winter season.

The Hamun - i - Mashkel:—The Hamun - i - Mashkel, which lies on the western frontier of Balochistan, is the largest lake in Pakistan. It has a length of 54 miles and an average breadth of about 15 miles, and it covers an area of about 840 square miles. The Hamun is fed by the waters of the Mashkel and Morjen Rivers. In some parts it contains hard salt.

The Hamun-i-Lora:—The Hamun-i-Lora lies in the Chagai District of Balochistan; and, being 38 miles long and about six miles broad, has an area of 228 square miles. Formed by the waters of the Pishin-Lora and the Kulao, it has a white surface "impregnated with salt."

In addition to these there are a few small lakes in the Provinces of Kachch and Kathiawar, of which the Saror and the Sindhdi in the former and the Nal and the Gheds in the latter are noteworthy.

THE VALLEYS

Pakistan, being a land of great and gorgeous mountains, possesses valleys which are world-famous for their lovely scenery, excellent climate, and fine fruits. Of these valleys the following must be noticed:—

The Kashmir Valley:—The Vale of Kashmir is by far the most charming and the most famous of all the valleys in Pakistan. It lies in the very heart of the Jabaliya and comprises the basin of the Jehlum and its affluents.

The Vale has a mean elevation of 5,600 feet above sea-level and an area of 1,900 square miles. So in size it is less than one-fortieth of the total area of the province known as the Jammun and Kashmir State.

In geological times, the Vale was the bed of a great lake but, since the end of the Cretaceous period, it is the land of nature at its grandest; indeed, "it presents a vision of Paradise. . ."

Those who have visited it have fallen under its spell and ever after admired its sparkling springs, its limpid rivers, "its green fields and groves, its slopes of flowery grass, its very wastes covered with blue iris . . . the villages embowered among woods of fruit trees . . . the floating islands of vegetation on its waterways; the profusion of roses and other flowers by which even the roofs of the houses are turned into gardens."

Such is the Vale of Kashmir, which the Pak Padshahs have adorned with palaces, pleasure gardens, and parks; which poets have immortalized in their songs and stories; which naturalists have loved for its botanic wonders; and in which travellers have ever found an ideal haven.

The Kagan Valley:—The Kagan Valley lies in the Hazara District of Afghanistan and covers an area of about 800 square miles. It is "surrounded by Kashmir Territory on every side except the south," and is enclosed by lofty

ranges, which culminate in "Mali ka Parbat," rising to 17,000 feet above sea-level.

The Valley is famous for its beautiful glens, picturesque scenery, excellent forests, and rich grass pastures.

The Kurram Valley:—The Kurram Valley spreads between the Safed Koh and the borders of Khost in Afghanistan and has an area of 1,279 square miles.

This fertile and thickly populated valley "is crowded with orchards and groves to which a fine background is afforded by the dark pine forests and the Alpine snows of the Safed Koh."

In natural beauty, as in popular appeal, the Kurram Valley ranks next to the Kashmir Valley and shares with it the distinction of being a favourite resort of some of the Pak Padshahs including Shah Jahan, who was so fond of it that he had a magnificent garden laid out there.

The Kullu Valley:—The Kullu Valley lies in that part of the Jabaliya which covers the Kangra District in the Panjab and comprises the tract known as Kullu proper.

The course of the river Beas which flows through the valley "presents a succession of magnificent scenery, including cataracts, precipitous cliffs, and mountains clad with forests of deodar, towering above the tiers of pine on the lower rocky ledges."

The Valley is one of the most charming parts of Pakistan and, apart from its well-known springs to which we refer elsewhere, it possesses several beautiful spots, of which Manali is the most attractive.

The Quetta Valley:—The Quetta Valley lies in the Quetta-Pishin District of Balochistan. It has an elevation of 5,500 feet above sea-level and an area of 540 square miles. Although without some of the irresistible charms of the other valleys of Pakistan, it is nevertheless a beautiful spot, and famous for its natural scenery and fruit gardens.

THE PLAIN

Inside its mountains on the east, north, and north-west, its land-frontiers on the south-west, and its coastline on the west, there lies the vast, rich plain of Pakistan, which extends from the foot of the Jabaliya to the coast of Sindh.

The immense expanse of land comprises the basins of rivers, forms one of the most prominent physical features of the country, and possesses a level surface which is amazing for its uniform regularity.

Year after year, and century after century, this expanse of land has been revitalized by the silt and sand brought down by the rivers from the mountains, and consequently generation after generation it has remained the source of economic life and the centre of activity of the people of the Mihran Valley. No wonder therefore that it has seen the rise and fall of several civilizations, of numerous kingdoms, and of countless cities; just as to-day it is witnessing the rebirth of the Pak Nation in Pakistan and the revival of the Pak Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The most amazing thing about the Plain is that its ageless fertility and productivity are as great as ever. Although it suffers from inadequacy of water and uncertainty of rainfall, it still remains the granary of Pakistan. Not only that. Most of the flourishing cities, thriving industries, and fertile fields and farms of the country are found inside this Plain, which constitutes the habitat of about four-fifths of its population and the major source of its economic support and material sustenance.

THE DESERT

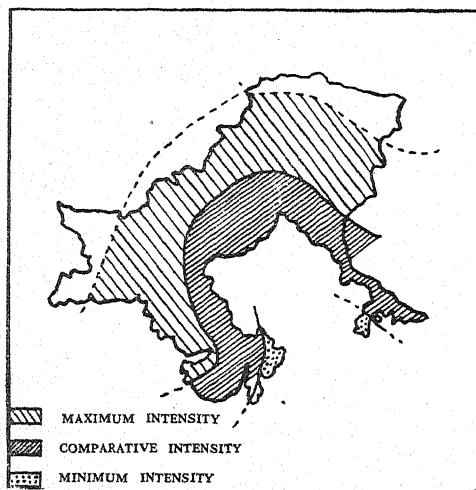
In the south-west of Pakistan lies the Pak-Raj Desert, which is commonly known as the Thar. Geologically the ancient channel of the Tethys, physiographically it is "on a smaller scale . . . the Sahara, without its rich oases."

The Desert has a length of about 500 miles and a breadth of 120 miles and so occupies an area of about 60,000 square miles. Although most of it lies in the neighbouring country of Rajistan, it covers some parts of the Panjab, Sindh, and Kachch in Pakistan.

Taken as a whole, the Desert, which gets very little rain and sometimes none at all, is a barren, treeless tract, as sparsely cultivated as it is thinly populated. The result is that, from the earliest times to the present, it has formed a great barrier to traffic between Pakistan and Rajistan, and kept the latter isolated from the rest of the Continent. Indeed it has posed one of the great "ifs" of history. That is, what would have been the fate of Rajistan, if it had not been separated from Pakistan by this veritable sea of sand—the Desert.

THE EARTHQUAKE ZONES OF PAKISTAN

Geologically the whole of Pakistan lies "within the great earthquake belt which traverses the earth from east to west;"



The Earthquake Zones of Pakistan

and, from the point of view of zonal distribution, more than three-fourths of its area is included in the zone of maximum intensity and about one-fourth in that of comparative intensity.

The zone of maximum intensity comprises the regions of the Jabaliya, the Hindoo Kush, and the Balochistan Mountains, which are "still undergoing elevation," and therefore constitute "the most unstable region." That is, the region in which were the epicentres of the earthquakes in Pakistan.

Of the violent earthquakes in recent times the following may be mentioned:—that of Delhi on 17th July, 1720, which damaged the Fort and the Fatihpuri Mosque; of Peshawar on 19th February, 1842; of Kashmir on 30th May, 1885, in which 3,000 people perished; of Kangra on 4th April, 1905, in which 20,000 lives were lost; and of Quetta on 31st May, 1935, which destroyed the town of Quetta, claimed 25,000 lives, and affected an area of 100,000 square miles.

CLIMATE

The climatic conditions of Pakistan are not uniform. In fact, they vary according to the altitude of the places and according to the range of the monsoon zone, the position of the mountains, and the distance of the plains from the sea-coast. That these factors produce some striking contrasts in the climate of the country will be clear from the following paragraphs on its temperature, rainfall, climatic zones and seasons.

Temperature:—Pakistan has such a wide range of temperature as is met with in only a few countries of the world. Thus it has places in its hottest parts where "the thermometer touches 130°F in the summer; and places in its coldest parts where 17° below zero is recorded."

These are of course the extreme contrasts between the temperatures of the mountains and the plains; but even in the

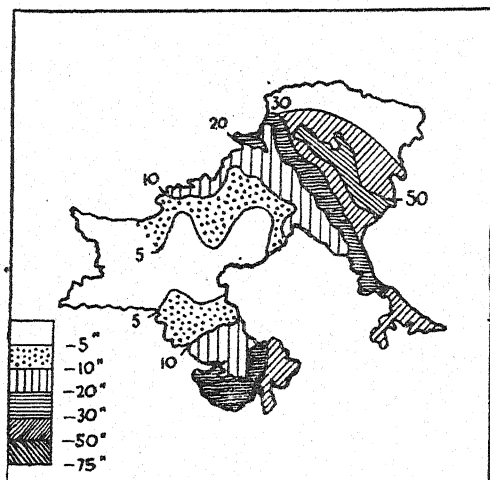
plains the contrast between the summer and winter temperatures is relatively as marked as between those of the hottest and coldest parts of the country.

However, the highest temperatures registered in the plains are 127 degrees at Jacobabad on 12th June, 1919; and over 120 degrees at Haidarabad, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan, Montgomery, Lahore, Khushab, Sarsa, and Agrah; while the lowest minima registered are 23.9 degrees at Rawalpindi on 28th December, 1878; 24.0 degrees at Ludhiana on 6th December, 1879; 25.0 degrees at Khushab on 15th January, 1899; 25.7 degrees at Peshawar on 19th December, 1878; and 26.0 degrees at Dera Ismail Khan on 9th January, 1876.

The foregoing statistics, which represent the record temperatures, have been taken from data covering a long period of years. The normal annual range of temperature prevailing in different parts of the country is given in the following statement:—

<i>Place</i>			<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>
			°	°	°
Agrah	...	...	73.5	106.6	90.4
Delhi	...	...	70.0	104.0	88.6
Lahore	...	...	68.9	106.2	89.6
Peshawar	...	...	51.6	91.6	71.6
Multan	...	...	68.2	106.0	89.8
Jacobabad	...	...	73.2	114.1	95.7
Haidarabad	...	...	76.2	107.1	93.3
Karachi	...	...	75.6	90.5	84.2
Simla	...	...	47.5	75.0	62.4
Murree	...	...	43.5	78.4	61.7
Srinagar	...	...	40.8	87.3	67.7

Rainfall:—There are two precipitation periods in Pakistan. One is in the winter when from December to February the North-East Monsoon brings occasional showers, and the other in the summer when from July to September the South-West Monsoon brings the heaviest rainfall of the year.



Rainfall Map

So far as the distribution of rain is concerned it must be remembered that only about two-thirds of the country lies in the monsoon zone; for, one-third, comprising Balochistan and Northern Kashmir, lies outside it. Again, even in the monsoon zone, though some tracts in the hilly districts of the Panjab and the Vale of Kashmir are situated in the Good Rainfall Region, and some in the Moderate Rainfall Region, the rest of the zone is in the Poor Rainfall Region.

The result is that the rainfall is so unequally distributed that even within a province it varies from district to district, if not from place to place. Thus in the Panjab while Gurdaspur and Kangra Districts get 35 and 125 inches in the year, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts get only 7.20 and 5.40 inches respectively; and, in Afghanistan, though Hazara District receives 45 inches, Dera Ismail Khan District receives no more than 9 inches.

It is the same in the other provinces. In Kashmir, while Srinagar receives nearly 27 inches, Laddakh gets hardly 3 inches; in Sindh, while Karachi gets 7.56 inches, Jacobabad gets only 3.68; and in Balochistan, while Shahrig receives

14.7 inches, Sibi receives no more than 5.15 and some places only three inches.

The average annual rainfall at some of the important places in Pakistan is as follows:—

Dharmasala 126 inches; Simla 63.7; Murree 59.85; Srinagar 26.70; Jammun 35; Agrah 26.90; Delhi 26.85; Lahore 19.62; Rawalpindi 32; Peshawar 13; Abbottabad 50; Karachi 7.56; Haidarabad 7.12; Multan 7.20; Jacobabad 3.68; Quetta 10.52; Chaman 6.70; and Sibi 5.15.

Climatic Zones:—Like its rainfall, the climate of Pakistan varies a good deal, and it may therefore be conveniently considered under four distinct zones:—the Trans-Jabaliyan, the Mountain, the Plain, and the Desert.

In the **Trans-Jabaliyan zone**, which comprises roughly the territory lying behind the Kashmir Valley, "the air is intensely dry and clear" and the climate, though severe, is healthy.

In the **Mountain zone**, while in the regions between 12,000 and 16,000 feet above sea-level Alpine conditions prevail, at places between 5,000 and 10,000 feet the climate on the whole is fine—cold but invigorating in winter, cool and pleasant in summer.

In the **Plain zone**, comprising most of the territory, in the rainy season when the air is saturated with moisture, the atmosphere is "muggy, unpleasant, and unhealthy." But barring this season, although May and June are terribly hot, and December, January and February bitterly cold, the air is dry and crisp and humidity low, and consequently the climatic conditions are perfect.

In the **Desert zone**, which includes some of the districts of Balochistan, Sindh, and the Panjab, the climate is tropical.

Seasons:—In Pakistan there are five seasons, which cover the main phases of its climate. These are the Spring, the Summer, the Rainy, the Autumn, and the Winter.

The Spring season is a short one of about six weeks. It lasts from the beginning of March to the middle of April. It is the pleasantest time of the year, being characterised by invigorating air, by brighter sun, and by the "most wonderful and rapid growth of vegetation."

After the Spring comes the Summer, which lasts for three months—from the middle of April to the middle of July. It is the hottest part of the year and it is marked by continuous and steady rise in temperature, low barometric pressure, violent dust storms and by the ripening of crops and fruit.

The Summer is followed by the Rainy Season, which lasts from the middle of July to the middle of September. It is heralded by the peak of Summer and by violent thunderstorms ending in the break of the Monsoon, which brings moisture and rain in its train. In this season, though the temperature falls and the vegetation, scorched by the fierce heat of the Summer, revives, the atmosphere is sultry and oppressive.

With the end of the Rainy Season comes the Autumn, which extends from the middle of September to the end of October. With its fine weather and bracing air, it is like a short spell of a second spring. Finally there comes the Winter Season, which lasts for four months from November to February. In this season the barometer falls, the air becomes cool and, except for the occasional banks of clouds which bring some rain, the skies are clear. In the mountains there are violent gales and heavy sandstorms and in the plains at places it freezes in the night, and during the day the temperature seldom rises above 75° .

Thus it will be seen that although as a country Pakistan may be described as partly tropical, partly temperate and partly Alpine; yet on the whole its climate is healthy. What is more, the severities of both the Mountain and the Plain zones help to breed fine stock, build manly character, and foster martial spirit—qualities which are essential to the making of a great people.

CHAPTER III

FLORA, FAUNA, AND FORESTS

To attempt to describe in a few short pages the botany and the zoology of a country like Pakistan is indeed a difficult task. It is difficult not only because of the size of the country but also because of the fact that its geography and meteorology have given it a natural history which is more varied than that of any other country in the world. In view of this the best we can do, in the space at our disposal, is to make a brief reference to some of the dominant orders of its flora, the well-known families of its fauna, and the principal kinds of its forests.

THE FLORA

It is important to note at the outset that the flora of Pakistan has been greatly influenced by two factors—the physical nature of the country and the extension of cultivation. The result is that while the former has produced a type of vegetation that can only be described as a mixture of the Iranian and Mediterranean in the plains and of the Chinese and Siberian in the hills; the latter has confined the natural vegetation mainly to its mountain regions and to such of its sparsely-populated parts as have escaped the ageless operations of the plough and sickle.

However, it is remarkable that, though botanically at its best in the months of March and April when “the buds open and the forests blush in delicate shades of green, silver grey and pink,” Pakistan is a land of perennial vegetation. For, not only its “climate is suitable for the growth of a double set of annuals (in the plains)—of temperate plants during the cold season and of tropical plants during the Rainy season,” but also its mountain regions for the most part grow temperate plants in Summer and sub-Alpine in Winter.

It is this fact which above all has made the flora of Pakistan one of the richest in the world, comprising nearly 170 Natural Orders, which are distributed widely over the country. We shall notice them here under three vegetation regions—the Mountain Region, the Plain Region, and the Desert Region.

In the **Mountain Region**, which covers Kashmir and the hilly areas of the Panjab, Afghanistan, and Balochistan, there are "upwards of 4,000 flowering plants comprised in 147 Natural Orders, and also 230 species of ferns and their allies." Of these Orders the dominant ten are:—"Orchidææ, Gramineæ, Leguminosæ, Compositæ, Cyperaceæ, Labiatæ, Scrophulariaceæ, Rosaceæ, Ranunculaceæ and Cruciferæ."

The flora of the **Plain Region**, which includes most of the old Mithran Valley, comprises "about 1,500 indigenous flowering plants, under 112 Orders." Of these the dominant ten are:—"Gramineæ, Leguminosæ, Compositæ, Cyperaceæ, Scrophularineæ, Labiatæ, Boragineæ, Malvaceæ, Euphorbiaceæ and Convolvulaceæ."

Lastly, there is the **Desert Region**, which includes the sandy parts of the Panjab, Sindh, Balochistan, Kachch, and Kathiawar, and has the typical North African flora of about 100 Orders. Of these the following ten are dominant:—"Compositæ, Gramineæ, Leguminosæ, Cruciferæ, Labiatæ, Chenopodiaceæ, Boragineæ, Liliaceæ, Caryophylleæ and Rosaceæ."

In this vast number of the Orders of the Flora of Pakistan, the characteristic natural flowers, herbs and trees found are the following:—

Flowers:—Most of the flowers seen by the waysides and in the woodlands, gardens and groves of Pakistan are indigenous to the country. Among the best known of these are the

rose, the jasmine, the *champa*, the water-lily, the violet, the primula, the lilac, the narcissus, the tulip, the lotus, the saffron, the carnation, the hollyhock, the delphinium, the peony, and the pink.

Herbs:—Among the herbs the most conspicuous are the wild chicory, wild rhubarb, thistles and nettles, the *Artemisia* and *Ephedra*, and “the primulas, saxifrages, gentians, the sweet-scented *Viola patrinii*, the slender milkwort, the beautiful delicate little *Evolvulus alsinoides*, the showy purple *convolvulus*, *Ipomaea hederacea*, and a curious lily, *Gloriosa superba*.”

Shrubs:—The typical shrubs are the *Rhododendron*, the *Rhus continus*, the Bladder-nut, the Lilac, the Ash, the Bullace, the Hawthorn, the *sanattha* (*Dodonaea viscosa*), the *garna* (*Carissa*) and dwarf Bamboos in the hills; and the *marwan* (*Vitex negundo*), the *jal* (*Salvadora oleoides*), the *ak* (*Gossopic spicegera*, *Calotropis procera*), the *harmal* (*Peganum harmala*), and the colocynth gourd (*Citrullus colocynthis*) in the plains.

Trees:—Of the indigenous trees the most common are the Oak, *deodar*, *chinar* (*Platanus orientalis*), Teak, Sal, Firs, Pines, Cypress, and Bamboo in the hills; and the Mango, the *shisham* (*Dalbergia sissoo*), the *siris* (*Albizzia lebbek*), the *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*), the *bor*, or *banian* (*Ficus Indica*), the *farash* (*Tamarix articulata*), the *kikar* (*acacia Arabica*), the *phulai* (*Acacia eburnea*), the *nim* (*Melia Indica*), the *tun* (*Cedrela toona*), the *drek* (*Melia azedarach*), the *bahera* (*Terminalia Belerica*), and the *Jand* (*Prosopis spicigera*) in the plains.

In addition to these, there are found also “such beautiful flowering trees as the *simal* (silk cotton tree), the *amaltas* (*Cassia fistula*), the *kamila* (*Mallotus Philippinensis*), and the *dhawi* (*Woodfordia floribunda*).”

THE FAUNA

The fauna of Pakistan belongs to the zoological region which is called the holarctic or Palæarctic. It is as varied and abundant as the flora—and this for the same reasons. Again, because of the fact that fields and farms do not make a favourite haunt for wild animals, it has, like the flora, been affected by the extension of cultivation over most parts of the country.

In the following paragraphs we shall give the important species of mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, batrachians and fishes which are found in Pakistan.

To begin with the mammals.

Mammals:—In the mammals, the Order Primates is represented by several species of monkey, including the Rhesus Monkey, the Jabaliyan Monkey, and the Langour; and the Order Carnivora by many families of “cats, civets, ichneumons, hyenas, dogs, martens, weasels, badgers, otters and bears.”

Of these, the Cat Family includes the tiger, leopard, snow-leopard, fishing-cat, and jungle-cat; the Civet Family, a small Pak civet and the Palm-civets; and the Ichneumons Family, only the Mongoose with some of its small species. The Hyena Family is represented by the Striped Hyena; the Dog Family by “two wolves, a jackal, two wild dogs, and five foxes”; the Martens, by the Beech Marten, Polecat, and Mottled Polecat; and the Badger by the Jabaliyan Badger. Lastly, the Otter Family claims three species: *Lutra vulgaris*, *Lutra macrodus*, and *Lutra cinerea*; and the Bear Family, two, the Isabelline Bear and the Black Bear, both of which are found in the Jabaliya.

The Insectivora Order of Mammals consists of the hedgehogs found in the plains, and moles in the Jabaliyas; the Chiroptera, of over eighty species of bats of the fruit-eating and insect-eating families; the Rodentia, of squirrels, marmots, rats, mice, porcupines and hares; and the Ungulata, of the elephant, “found wild in places along the base” of the Jabaliya, wild-asses (Gorkhar) in Balochistan and Kachch,

wild yaks, wild goats and wild sheep in the Jabaliya; and deer and pigs throughout the country.

Lastly we come to the Cetacea Order, which is represented by the whales and porpoises found along the coast of the Pakian Sea; and the dolphins found in some of the larger rivers of Pakistan.

BIRDS

The birds of Pakistan include about 1,500 species. They are of every hue and colour and their numbers are augmented in winter by birds such as swallows, carrion-crows and ducks, etc., which migrate to the plains from colder countries and spend the months of December and January in Pakistan.

Most of the resident birds of Pakistan belong to the following Orders:—

The *Passerine* Order claims more than half the birds of Pakistan and is represented by a large number of the families and sub-families of the crows, magpies, titmice, thrushes, *bulbuls* (*Brachypodinae*), nuthatches, drongos, warblers, shrikes, orioles, *mainas*, starlings, flycatchers, *plocidæ*, finches, swallows, larks, sun-birds and flower-peckers.

In the *Pici* Order are found the Goldenbacked Woodpeckers, the Yellow-fronted Pied Woodpeckers, the Green Woodpeckers, and the Pigmy Woodpeckers; in the allied *Zygodactyli* Order, the Honey Guides and Barbets; and in the *Ansiodactyli* Order, "the Rollers, Bee-eaters, Kingfishers, Hornbills, and Hoopoes."

The *Macrochires* comprise the Swifts and Nightjars; and the *Coccyges*, the Cuckoos of many species, including the Common Cuckoo, the Hawk-Cuckoo (known as the brain-fever-bird), the Koel (*Eudynamis honorata*) and the Koukal, otherwise known as "Crow-pheasant" in Pakistan.

The Order *Psittaci* is represented by more than ten species of parrots, the best known of which are the Rose-ring parrot and the Large parrot; the *Striges*, by over 25 species of Owls, the commonest of which are the Barn Owl, the Long-eared Owl, and the Short-eared Owl; the *Accipitres*, by the Osprey, the Vultures, and the Falconidæ, including "the Eagles, Kites, Harriers, Buzzards, Hawks and Falcons."

The *Columbæ* Order is represented by the pigeons and doves; and the *Pterocletes* by the sand-grouse, which are found in the sandy tracts of Kachch and the Panjab.

This brings us to the *Gallinæ*, which are represented by the Peafowl, Jungle-fowl, Pheasants, Partridges and Quails; and the *Limicolæ* by the Plovers, Snipes, and "several families of wading birds." Lastly we have to notice (1) the *Herodiores*, which consist of several important families of "the Ibises, Spoonbills, Storks and Herons," and (2) the *Anseres*, which comprise Swans, Geese and Ducks.

REPTILES

The reptiles of Pakistan exceed the mammals in number. Most of the 500 species described in reference books belong to the following three Orders: "(1) Crocodiles; (2) Tortoises and Turtles; and (3) Lizards and Snakes."

Two kinds of Crocodile are met with in Pakistan:—(1) the *Magar* (*C. palustris*) "in almost every river and often in ponds," and (2) the *Gharyal* mostly in the Mihran.

The Turtles and Tortoises are found in rivers and marshes and include "ordinary river turtles and fresh-water tortoises." In the Pakian Sea are found "the Green Turtle, the Hawk's-bill Turtle, the Loggerhead Turtle and the Leatherly Turtle."

Lizards are represented in Pakistan by over 150 species and snakes by 200.

Lizards mostly belong to five families, i.e., the Geckoes, the Agamoids, the Scinques, the Lacertidæ and the Monitors.

Snakes are more numerous than all other reptiles combined. They are found all over the country and comprise nearly "all the known families of living snakes." Barring two or three families, most of the snakes are represented by the Colubridæ Family, which is divided into three branches. The first of these comprises the Carpet snake, the Rat snake, and the Zaminis (*Z. ventrimaculatus*); the second, several species of the slightly poisonous water-snakes; and the third, the most poisonous snakes such as the Cobra, the Karait, the King snake and the Viper.

INSECTS

Insects in Pakistan are as numerous as any other animal kind. Inseparably associated with the rainy season, which brings them to life, they seriously affect human comfort.

These insects are of two kinds:— (1) the obnoxious and (2) the beneficial. The former comprise the ants, worms, locust and caterpillars, which eat up crops; the white ants, which damage timber and books; the anopheles mosquito, which spreads malaria; and the moth, which attacks clothes; and the latter, the bee, silk-worm and lac-insect.

BATRACHIANS

Ecaudata is the only Order of the Batrachians found in Pakistan. It is widely distributed all over the country and comprises Frogs and Toads of numerous species. The commonest of these are the Pond frog, the Jumper frog, *Rana tigrina*, *Rana limnocharis* and *Bufo*.

FISHES

Fishes found in the waters of Pakistan are of the Cartilaginous and the Bony groups. The former group is represented by the Sharks, the Saw Fishes and the Stingrays, which abound in the Pakian Sea; and the latter, by the fresh-water Eel found in rivers; the *mahseer* (*Barbus tor*), known as the Salmon of Pakistan, the *rohu* (*Labas rohits*) and the catla (*Catla buchanani*) which are found in ponds, tanks and lakes.

THE FORESTS

The Paks are tree-lovers and tree-growers and they take keen interest in their forests. This is one reason why at one time the forests of Pakistan were in a flourishing condition. In fact they constituted one of the most substantial sources of revenue and, what is more, by their effect on climate and rainfall they helped the agriculture of the country.

It is a pity this is no longer the case. The reckless deforestation of the past two centuries, carried out in circumstances over which the people had no control, has so denuded the country of most of its trees and wood that only a few good forests are now left outside the mountain regions.

Of the principal kinds of forests the following call for notice:

Alpine Forests:—The Alpine forests are found in those regions of the Jabaliya, the Karakorum, and the Hindoo Kush which stretch from 9,500 to 12,000 feet above sea-level. These forests almost resemble deserts since their vegetation consists mainly of birch, dwarf Rhododendrons and other shrubs.

Mountain Forests:—The Mountain forests occur in those regions of the ranges of Pakistan which have an altitude of 5,000 to 11,000 feet and receive rainfall from 40 to 100 inches

in the year. These are the most important forests of Pakistan; for they grow such valuable trees as the oak, *deodar*, fir and blue pine.

Hill Forests:—The Hill forests flourish in those parts of the hills which are between 3,000 and 5,000 feet above sea-level and receive 20 to 40 inches of rain in the year. The vegetation of these forests is characterized by such trees as the Chil pine, Oaks and Rhododendrons. In addition to these, many species of the Olive (*Olea cuspidata*) are found in the lower regions of the hills.

Scrub Forests:—The Scrub forests mostly occur in those districts of the Panjab, Afghanistan, Sindh, Balochistan, Kachch, and Kathiawar, which lie below 3,000 feet and where the rainfall is 10 to 20 inches a year. The chief products of these forests are such trees and bushes as the *jand* (*Prosopis spicigera*), the *jal* (*Salvadora oleoides*), the *karil* (*Capparis aphylla*) and the *farash* (*Tamarix articulata*).

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION, AND MINERALS

It is the set, soulless policy of Western Imperialism to make its subjects hewers of wood and drawers of water for itself. To enforce that policy, it reduces them to the position of mere producers of raw materials and of consumers of its own manufactured goods. In this way it acquires a strangle-hold on their lives and uses that strangle-hold, on the one hand, to enrich itself and prolong its privileged position; and, on the other, to pauperise them and prolong their subjection.

It is a notorious fact that no power has pursued this policy more systematically than Britain. It has kept Pakistan as an agricultural country dependent for its subsistence on the cultivation of its soil and for its meagre comforts on British-made goods. The grim sequel of this policy is seen in the present unsound economic condition of the Paks and in their low standard of living, both of which cry out for improvement and for the immediate reversal of that selfish and sordid policy.

AGRICULTURE

However, so far as agriculture in Pakistan is concerned, the area available for cultivation is vast and most of it belongs to the peasant-proprietors, who form the backbone of the nation. It is true their holdings are small, but their skill as farmers is great and they manage to feed the nation.

Barring some stony and sandy tracts, most of the soil of the country is given to the raising of a great variety of crops, grown in two harvests. One, called *the Rabi*, is mostly sown in the cold weather in October and November and cut in April and May; and the other, called *the Kharif*, is sown in the Rainy season in July and August and reaped from September to December.

Soil:—The soil of Pakistan varies “from clay to loam and from loam to sand.” The result is that the alluvial plains are on the whole fertile and, with the help of irrigation and manuring, they yield good harvests.

Agricultural Regions:—There are three distinct agricultural regions in Pakistan:—One, the Mountainous, characterized by a rich loam and stony area; the other, the Plain, representing the best part of the arable area and marked by a sandy loam; and, the third, the Desert, distinguished by an immense mass of pure sand.

Each region has its local physical and climatic conditions, which affect not only the time of sowing but also the character of cropping. Thus, while in the Mountainous region the main crops are rice and maize; in the Plain they are wheat, gram and cotton; and, in the Desert, wheat and millet.

So far as the cultivable area is concerned, thanks to the growth of population, the improved methods of cultivation, and, above all, the extension of irrigation, this has increased to nearly 100 million acres, of which at present about one-half is sown every year.

It is estimated that, in the year 1940-41, the total area actually sown amounted to about fifty million acres, of which 28,170,480 acres were in the Panjab; 204,678 in the Delhi Division; 2,356,662 in Afghanistan; and 5,370,008 in Sindh.

Principal Crops:—The principal crops grown in Pakistan include cereals, pulses, fibres, oil-seeds, dyes, spices, drugs and narcotics.

Among the cereals the chief varieties grown are wheat, rice, barley, oat, millet and maize; among the pulses, gram, lentils, peas, field-peas and chickling vetch; and among the fibres, cotton, hemp and kapok.

The other staples grown are: among the oil-seeds, rapeseed, toria, sesamum and mustard; among the dyes, indigo, safflower, madder and carthamus; among the spices, betel-

leaf, betel-nut, pepper, chillies, ginger and turmeric; and, among the drugs and narcotics, poppy, tobacco, tea and hashish.

In addition to these there is the valuable sugar-cane; while among the root-crops are potatoes, sweet potatoes, onions, carrots and turnips; and, among other vegetables, brinjals, tomatoes, cabbages and cauliflowers.

Garden Fruits:—Pakistan has exceptional horticultural facilities, of which it makes the greatest use. It grows a larger variety of fruits than any other country in the world; and most of its fruit, whether tropical or temperate, is of good quality. In fact, there is nothing in the world to beat the fruit of its Kashmir and Quetta Valleys.

Among the fruits grown in the Plains are the mango, mulberry, banana, pomegranate, papaya, orange, lime, lemon, fig, loquat, date, palm, strawberry and melon; and in the hills, the grape-vine, pear, apple, peach, apricot, plum, nectarine, quince, greengage, cherry, walnut, hop, hazel, mulberry, gooseberry, raspberry, currant, almond and water-chestnut.

Livestock:—In an agricultural country, the breeding of cattle is of necessity determined by the agricultural economy; for, the farmers naturally prefer to keep and breed only those animals which are useful for the purposes of food, manure or plough.

This has determined the Paks' choice in favour of breeding such cattle as are serviceable to cultivation. Following this choice, it is remarkable that Pak peasants and farmers have developed certain "excellent breeds" of cattle, some of which are "notable for their size and strength, some for their milking qualities, and some for their activity."

However, broadly speaking, the livestock of Pakistan consists of all the animals useful to man. In the Bovine family, the Cow, the Ox and the Buffalo are raised in most parts of the country and form an essential part of the agricultural stock-in-trade of a peasant. While the Cow Buffaloes

are kept generally for their milk and meat, the Bullocks and the Male Buffaloes are, as a rule, used for ploughing, for drawing carts, "for raising water from the well for irrigation, and for driving the chaff cutter and sugar-cane crusher, and for treading out the grain in the threshing yard."

In the Ovine family, sheep and goats are raised throughout the country and used for milk and meat, for manure and skins. So far as the Kashmir sheep are concerned, especially those bred in the north of the Vale, they are noted for their excellent wool, which is used for the shawl and cloth industry of the country.

The third class of animals comprises horses, ponies, mules, donkeys and camels, which are used for riding-carts and pack-carriages. While the first four are bred all over the country, the last—the camel—is raised mostly in Balochistan and Sindh, where it performs important tasks and is used not only for heavy transport, but also for ploughing and for raising water from the wells.

IRRIGATION

It is obvious that to an agricultural country like Pakistan, irrigation is a problem of life and death; for, the cultivation of land depends on the supply of water, whether by seasonal rainfall and floods or by temporary or permanent artificial means of irrigation.

Now, rainfall in Pakistan is erratic. It is not uniform over the country and, moreover, it is "liable to catastrophic fluctuations." This means first that some parts of the country receive more rain than they need, others less, and still others hardly any at all; and, secondly, that though the total rainfall may occasionally exceed the annual average, it frequently falls far short of expectation.

Necessity is the mother of invention. From the earliest times this harsh reality led the people to find such sources of irrigation as would be more reliable and more adequate than those provided by the vagaries of the Monsoon; and in this quest they were not unsuccessful.

To begin with, they dug Ponds and Karez to water small farms; then they sunk wells to irrigate larger areas; and finally they constructed canals to fertilize vast regions. From antiquity in general and from the time of Marshal Muhammad Qasim in particular, this development of the means of irrigation continued; and by the end of the eighth century it had become so effective that the Pak administrators and revenue officers were assessing the land-tax according as a farm was irrigated by public canals or by private means. Since that time, every generation of the Paks has made its contribution towards the perfection of the means of irrigation of the country. Among those whose work has been of a lasting nature must be mentioned Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who not only constructed in 1356 the Western Jamna Canal, the oldest in Pakistan, but also other "extensive irrigation works including a number of dams and reservoirs . . . five great canals to distribute the waters of the Jehlum and the Sutlej."

Next to Firoz Shah Tughlaq is Jalal-ud-Din Akbar, who in 1568 re-excavated the Western Jamna Canal and converted it into a perennial canal. After Akbar comes Shah Jahan, who, availing himself of the engineering genius of Ali Mardan Khan, had in 1626 "brought to Delhi the water of the canal dug by Firoz Shah," and in 1633 had constructed the Hasli Canal "from the Ravi near Madhopur to water the Royal gardens at Lahore."

It was this system which in the last century the British took over from the Pak Padshahs; and which, aided by the great advance of science in modern times, they so expanded and perfected as to cover the country by a magnificent network of canals and thereby re-claim for cultivation millions of acres lying hitherto waste and barren.

It must be remembered that, in spite of this development of the canal system, the primitive and medieval means of irrigation like the Ponds and Wells are still in use in Pakistan. So along with the modern means they deserve to be noticed here:

Ponds:—Ponds, which are small artificial lakes storing up rain and river water, represent the earliest attempts made by the Paks to conserve water for irrigation. They were much resorted to in ancient times, but now are used only when modern well or canal irrigation is not available. That they are still rendering substantial service to cultivation is evident from the fact that in 1940-41 the total area irrigated by them was nearly 100,000 acres.

Karez:—Karez are the long, deep underground tunnels driven into the taluses or *daman* of the hills in Balochistan. In this way the water sunk into the ground is reached and brought out to the surface in order to irrigate the farms lying close to them. This is a rather original method of irrigation peculiar to Balochistan, where the rainfall is very scanty and the streams are few and far between; but with its help people irrigate considerable areas to raise crops.

Wells:—From olden times the Well has been indispensable to irrigation in Pakistan. It is of several kinds, two of which are important: the "*kachcha*" Well, which is an inexpensive, temporary hole dug to the sub-soil without any masonry; and the "*pakka*" or permanent Well, which is sunk deeper into the sub-soil and, being lined with masonry, costs a fair amount.

It is true that canals have now limited the scope of the Well, but from the statistics available it is clear that its rôle as one of the means of irrigation is still important, especially in the regions outside the canal colonies. For example, in 1940-41, the area irrigated by wells amounted to 34,370 acres in the Delhi Division; 4,681,633 in the Panjab; 78,731 in Afghanistan, and 18,662 in Sindh.

THE CANALS

The canal system of Pakistan comprises canals of two kinds: the Inundation Canals which supply water only in the Rainy

season and are in some cases owned by private individuals, and the Perennial Canals which carry water throughout the year and are, with few exceptions, owned by the Governments of the Provinces and the Princely States.

The Inundation Canals:—The Inundation Canals are too numerous to be mentioned in detail, and although as compared with the Perennial Canals they are “individually petty works,” yet the amount of service they render to the agriculture of the country is evident from the fact that every year *lacs* of acres are irrigated by them.

The Perennial Canals:—The Perennial Canals comprise the permanent canals constructed in the Pak Period as well as in the British Period. Though few in number these are huge works. In fact “they are comparable with large rivers in the volume of water they carry.” In the following paragraphs we shall notice the system of the Perennial Canals in some of the Provinces of Pakistan.

The Cis-Jamna Region:—In the Cis-Jamna Region, the Agrah Canal, which derives its water from the Jamna River near Delhi, is the most effective means of irrigation.

The Panjab:—In the Panjab the principal canals are the following:—

The Western Jamna Canal which “takes its water from the Jamna near where the river leaves the Himalayas”; The Sirhind Canal, which “takes its water from the Sutlej River and irrigates the south-eastern part of the Panjab Plains”; The Upper Bari Doab Canal, which takes its water from the Ravi and irrigates part of the Jech Doab; and the upper northern part of the Bari Doab; The Lower Chenab Canal, which takes its water from the Chenab River at Khanki and irrigates “the lower part of the Rech Doab; The Lower Jhelum Canal, which takes its water from the Jhelum at Rasul and irrigates part of the Jech Doab; and The Upper

Chenab Canal, which takes its water from the Chenab at Merala and irrigates the upper part of the Rechna Doab."

It is estimated that in 1941-42 the total area irrigated by canals—both Government and Private—amounted to over 12,000,000 acres.

Afghanistan:—In Afghanistan the Canal System is neither so vast nor so developed as in the Punjab. The reason is that, with the exception of the Mihran and the Kabul, all the principal rivers of Pakistan flow outside this Province.

Of the irrigation works watering the lands of the Province the following may be noticed:

The Lower Swat Canal, which takes its water from the River Swat at Abazai and irrigates tracts in Peshawar District; **The Upper Swat Canal**, which takes its water from the Swat River at Dargai and irrigates most of what is known as the Yousafzai Plain; **The Kabul River Canal**—the old Imperial Canal revived and rebuilt—which takes its water from the River Kabul at Warsak and irrigates part of the Vale of Peshawar.

The area irrigated by the Government and Private Canals in 1941-42 was nearly one million acres.

Kashmir:—Kashmir is the only province of Pakistan where on the whole the rainfall is plentiful and therefore canals are very few. However, in the Jammun Division of the Province, where the rainfall is inadequate, there are a few small canals to irrigate the lands. Of these we must notice the Jogi Darwaza Canal, taking off from the Tawi and watering the areas in the neighbourhood of Jammun City; the Satwari Canal watering the lands near Satwari; and the Dalpat Canal taking off from the Chenab and watering a considerable area of the Akhnur Tahsil.

Sindh:—In Sindh, though there are many Inundation Canals, the system of irrigation is dominated by what is known

as the Lloyd Barrage and Canal Construction Scheme, which is based upon the River Mihran and comprises no less than seven canals.

The scheme is not only the most important irrigation project in Pakistan but also the greatest in the world. To get some idea of its immense scope, one has only to remember that although nearly four million acres are already being watered by the Barrage Canals and other Capital Works, it is estimated that when this scheme is finally completed in 1962-63 it will irrigate no fewer than 5,450,000 acres every year.

In 1942-43 the total area irrigated by all canals in Sindh was over 4,000,000 acres.

Balochistan:—Apart from the Karez, Wells, Springs and Streams which help irrigation of lands, there are only a few Government Canals in Balochistan. Of these the noteworthy are the Shebo and Khushdil Khan in the highlands of Pishin, and the Begari and Desert Canals in the Plains, which together irrigate a large area of Sibi District.

In 1941-42, the area irrigated by canals was about 145,000 acres.

MINERALS

It is no exaggeration to say that on the whole Pakistan is a country of unexplored and unexploited mineral wealth; for so far no systematic and scientific effort has been made to tap its mines and minerals. In view of that it must be understood that any statements made here are provisional and incomplete.

Of the mineral and other resources of the country which have so far been discovered and exploited, we shall notice the following:—

PEARLS

There are several age-old pearl fisheries in the territorial waters of Pakistan. Of these some are near Karachi and two

in the Gulf of Kachch and the Gulf of Kambay. While at the beds near Kachch "at present practically no pearl fishing is carried on"; at those in the Navanagar limits of the Gulf of Kachch and in the Bhaunagar and Junagarh limits of the Gulf of Kambay are still found "pearls of good quality."

PRECIOUS STONES

Gem Stones:—Most of the precious stone mines of Pakistan are in the Province of Kashmir, where among other valuable stones are found sapphires, rubies, and rubellite in Daso in the Shigar Valley in Skardo, garnets near the Hanle monastery in Laddakh, and green tourmalines near Paddar.

Semi-Precious Stones:—Among the semi-precious stones, agates and bloodstones occur at several places in Kathiawar, rock crystals in Kashmir and near Kalabagh in the Mianwali District of the Panjab, amethyst and rose-quartz in Bashahr, Panjab, and feldspars in Kashmir.

Marble:—Pakistan is rich in marble and, as shown by the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, its marble quarries have been worked from time immemorial and have, throughout the ages, enabled Pak architects to build those wonderful palaces and castles, monuments and memorials which still adorn the country.

Black and white marbles are found at several places in the Mandi and Patiala States in the Panjab; and snow-white marble is found in the Kunhar Valley in the Hazara District in Afghanistan; onyx marble in the Shahpur District in the Panjab; and yellowish marble at Khavda in Kachch.

Sandstone:—Sandstones in various colours are found in all the Provinces of the country and they are generally used for building purposes and canal works. The red sandstones are found near Agrah; and the purple and magnesian sandstones in the Salt Range of the Panjab.

Limestone:—Limestone is found mostly in the Attock, Jehlum, and Rawalpindi Districts of the Panjab. It is also found in Kashmir, in Western Sindh, in the Karimori Hills of Kachch, and in Porbandar in Kathiawar.

Slate:—Large deposits of slate, which are “of first-rate quality,” occur at various places in the Jabaliya. In the Panjab, slate is quarried at Kund in Kangra District, in the Chamba and Mandi States, and also near Rewari in Gurgaon District. The total production of slate in the Panjab averages about 7,500 tons per annum, which, at current rates, yields an annual revenue of about Rs.300.000.

Cement:—Cement is manufactured at Wah in the Attock District of the Panjab, where since 1923 the Panjab Portland Cement Co., Ltd. has been working. It uses the black nummulitic limestone found in the neighbourhood and the gypsum which is obtained from Khewra in the Salt Range.

Gypsum:—Huge deposits of gypsum occur in the Jehlum, Mianwali, Attock, and Rawalpindi Districts of the Panjab; near Braripur in Kashmir; in the Kohat District of Afghanistan; at several places in Sindh; and in the Bugti and Marri Hills of Balochistan.

PRECIOUS METALS

Gold:—Only two gold-mines have so far been discovered in Pakistan—one at Gulmarg in Kashmir and the other in the Sirmour State in the Panjab, but no reliable data are available about their yield.

Apart from these mines, gold is also found in the sands and gravel of the rivers of Pakistan; and a regular, remunerative industry of gold-washing is carried on in the Attock, Jehlum, and Ambala Districts of the Panjab and in the Gilgit and Baltistan Divisions of Kashmir.

Silver:—Silver is of rather rare occurrence in Pakistan, being found only in the Kullu Hills of the Panjab. It is strange that, beyond a statement to that effect, no further information on the subject is available in the literature so far published on the mineral wealth of Dinia.

NON-PRECIOUS METALS

Iron:—Iron is found at many points in the Jabaliya. The most important of these deposits are in the Dhaula Dhar range in the Kangra District of the Panjab, where the ore is of the best quality and inexhaustible supply. There are iron mines also in the Simla District and in the Jubbāl, Bashahr, Mandi, Suket, Sirmour, and Patiala States in the Panjab; in the Yousafzai Hills and at Kashkar in the Chitral State of Afghanistan, at Sof in Kashmir; in the Chagai Hills of Balochistan; in Kachch; and in the Barda and Khambhaliya Districts of Kathiawar.

Chromite:—Large deposits of Chromite occur in the Dras Valley of Laddakh in Kashmir, and near Khanozai and Hindoobagh in the Zhob Valley and in the Chagai Hills of Balochistan. The Balochistan deposits, which have been worked since 1903, are producing some 12,000 tons of the metal yearly.

Copper:—There are several copper-bearing regions in Pakistan; but those of superior quality and of real commercial value are in the Kullu Mountains and near Solon in the Panjab, in Kashkar in the Chitral State of Afghanistan, in Rondu in the Gilgit Division of Kashmir, and in the Chagai Hills of Balochistan.

Alum:—The alum industry of Pakistan is very old and it used to have extensive works. During the last hundred years it suffered many set-backs and finally succumbed to the competition of imported alum. Though, up to 1928, alum

was manufactured at several places including Kalabagh and Kotki in the Mianwali District of the Panjab, now it is produced only at Madh in Kachch.

Antimony and Arsenic:—Antimony is found in the Shigri mines in Lahaul in the Kangra District of the Panjab; arsenic in the Kashkar mines in the Chitral State of Afghanistan; and arsenopyrite in the Bhutna Valley of Kashmir.

Nickel and Zinc:—Nickeliferous pyrites and lodes of zinc ore have been recently found in the Riasi District of Kashmir; but no reliable data are yet available about them.

OTHER MINERALS

Salt:—Among other minerals the most valuable is rock-salt, which is mined at the quarries at Kheora, Warcha, and Kalabagh in the Salt Range in the Panjab; of Jatta, Malgin, Bahadur Khel, and Kharak in the Kohat District of Afghanistan; in the Laddakh Division of Kashmir; at Dilyar and Saran in the Thar-Parkar District of Sindh; and in the Las Bela State of Balochistan. In addition to the supply from these quarries, earth-salt is manufactured in the Quetta-Pishin, Zhob, and Hamun-i-Mashkel regions of Balochistan.

Sulphur:—Sulphur mines occur near Sanni in the Qalat State of Balochistan; and, though these have remained closed since they were set on fire in the last century, it is believed that there are still considerable reserves of sulphur in the rocks. Sulphur is also found in the Koh-i-Sultan in Balochistan and in the Rupshu region of Laddakh in Kashmir.

Borax:—The borax-producing regions of Pakistan are in that part of Kashmir which lies along the borders of Tibet. The mineral is produced in the Puga Valley of Rupshu in Laddakh, where the annual production amounts to about 1,500 *maunds*.

Bauxite:—Bauxite and aluminium occur on a large scale in Pakistan, and widespread deposits of these minerals have been found at Chakar in the Jammun Division and in the Punchh State of Kashmir. It is believed that the total quantity of bauxite available at Chakar alone is well over 1,800,000 tons.

Nitrates:—Saltpetre (Potassium Nitrate) is manufactured in the Jehlum and Kohat regions of the Salt Range; in the Rajpura, Ghanur, Banur, Narwana and Narnaul *tahsils* of the Patiala State in the Panjab.

Mineral Colours:—Of the mineral colours used in the manufacture of paints, sulphate of barium is mined in the Qalat and Las Bela States of Balochistan, and the yellow, brown and amber ochres in the Uree *tahsil* of Kashmir.

Mineral Clays:—The white or pale grey clays are found in the Simla Hills, china clays in Sindh, magnesite near Wad in Balochistan and near Braripur in Kashmir. There are also found good glass sands at Jaijon in the Hoshiarpur District of the Panjab and in the Punchh State in Kashmir.

Coal:—Coal is found at many places in the Panjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Balochistan. The principal collieries which are being worked are at Bhaganwala, Dandot, Kalabagh, Kuch, Tejuwala, and Jhakarkot in the Panjab; at several places in the Bannun and Kohat Districts of Afghanistan; at Ladda, Kalakot, Metka, and Mahogala; and in the Raithan, Lanyalab, and the Handwara areas of Kashmir; "in the Bolan Pass, in the Sor Range, in Qalat, and at Khost in the Sibi District of Balochistan"; and in the Umia beds in Kachch.

It is estimated that of the coal-fields of Kashmir the Shaliganga area contains at least four million tons of coal and the Handwara 32 million tons.

Petroleum:—There are four oil-bearing regions of Pakistan; and these lie in the same "folded system of Tertiary

rocks" that extends to Iran and Iraq. There has been a certain amount of prospecting and drilling in some areas of these regions but little in those of Afghanistan, Sindh, and Balochistan, which are considered to be most promising.

The investigations carried on by the Attock Oil Co. Ltd. and by other agencies have established the existence of petroleum springs at Khaur, Dhulian, and Chharat in the Panjab; at Ponaba in the Kohat District, and in the Shirani Hills of Afghanistan; in the Harnai Valley, and at Shoran Khattan in Balochistan.

Such in brief are the mineral resources of the country. Though no reliable statistics are available about them, yet this short survey shows that the mineral wealth of the vast mountain ranges surrounding the alluvial plains of Pakistan is so great and its water power so immense that, but for the selfish policy of Britain, Pakistan would long ago have developed into one of the leading industrial countries of the world.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND COMMUNICATIONS

In the days of its prime and power, Pakistan was one of the leading manufacturing countries of the world. It specialized in "weaving and dyeing, artistic working in wood, stone and metals"; and its products enjoyed a high reputation in the markets of Dinia and Asia, of Africa and Europe.

Pakistan established its industrial position in the eighth century and maintained it for nearly nine hundred years, losing it only in the past two centuries. That is, the centuries which were characterized, internally, by its own political decline and industrial stagnation and, externally, by scientific invention and industrial revolution; and which saw most of its old arts and crafts perish; and the few that survived unable to face the unequal challenge of British Industry, which has throughout been supported by British Imperialism.

After this disaster, British Imperialism saw to it that no systematic effort was made either to revive the old industries or to start new ones. This is not to suggest that the Paks themselves did nothing at all. It is simply to state that, owing to the unfavourable circumstances created by the British, the progress made in the past century was so small that the country is still in a stage of transition from mediæval to modern methods of manufacture.

However, now that the grip of British Imperialism is loosening, the prospects are brighter. For, thanks to the revival of Pak national consciousness, the current period is marked by the introduction of new machinery, by the erection of new mills, and by the establishment of new factories all over the country—a development which will help it to make up its leeway.

INDUSTRIES

Among the existing industries, which include both the old

handicrafts and the modern factories, the following deserve notice:—

The Handicrafts:—The handicrafts comprise those original village industries which supply such bare necessities of life as cotton-cloth, footwear, cooking and eating utensils, and implements of agriculture. They constitute the immemorial basis of the industrial life of the country and cater for the primary wants of villagers, who make up about four-fifths of its total population.

The Cotton Industry:—The cotton industry is one of the oldest and most popular industries of Pakistan. Though now worked partly by mills, it is still largely dependent upon hand-looms, which are in use all over the country. The importance of this industry in the national life of Pakistan is great; for, next to agriculture, its two branches, i.e., cotton-spinning and cotton-weaving, support the largest number of persons.

The best products of the industry are *Lungees* (turbans or waistbands) made at Ludhiana, Shahpur, Multan, Peshawar, Hazara and Tatta; *Tanzebs* (muslin) at Delhi and Rohtak; *Susees* (smooth, striped and coloured long cloth used for ladies' trousers) and *Gabroons* (check cloth) at Ludhiana; *Ghati* (liaper) at Jullundur; *Darees* (cotton rugs) at Lahore and Ambala; *Kheses* (coloured double sheetings) in Shahpur, Multan, Ludhiana, Dera-Ismail-Khan, Kohat and Peshawar; and general Cotton-Printing at Sultanpur, Kot Kamalia and Lahore.

The whole cotton industry of Pakistan is at present undergoing a profound change. It is expanding enormously and the number of factories is increasing every year. The result is that while cotton ginning and pressing factories are found all over the country, modern cotton spinning and weaving mills are working at Amritsar, Lahore, Lyallpur, Okara, Montgomery, Sukkur, and Karachi.

In view of this, it is expected that before long the industry will be able to meet the needs of all Pakistan and save it

from importing every year cotton fabrics from Hindoostan, Mahrashtar, Japan, Europe and America.

The Wool Industry:—The wool industry also is widely practised in the country; and, though coarse blankets and felts are made at innumerable places, its famous shawls and *pashminas* are made mostly in Kashmir and the Panjab. Apart from that, there are also made *Dhussas*, *Lois* and Carpets in Kashmir and *Pattus* in Kangra.

In addition to these manufactures, many factories are doing wool pressing and baling and several mills at Amritsar and Dhariwal are making woollen materials of great variety.

It must also be noted that, as distinct from the manufacturing side of the industry, quite a substantial trade is being done in raw wool in Pakistan. Though itself producing only a limited quantity of such wool, the country serves as an international market for its sale. It imports wool from Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, Tibet and Nepal, and then exports it to foreign countries, including its neighbours in the Continent of Dinia.

The Carpet Industry:—The carpet industry of Pakistan is world famous. It produces "gorgeous rugs and carpets," which are so exquisite in colour and fabric that they compare with those of Turkey and Iran.

Carpet-making is carried on both as a handicraft and as a factory industry and its great centres are at Amritsar and Multan in the Panjab, at Srinagar in Kashmir, and in Kharan, Barkhan, Sarawan, and Las Bela in Balochistan.

The Silk Industry:—Sericulture is one of the ancient industries of Pakistan; and it is so developed that "the filature in Srinagar is the largest of its kind in the world." It is a well-known fact that, until the appearance of competition from China and Japan in the last century, this industry not only supplied the home market with silk goods, but also exported them to foreign countries.

However, this is no longer the case. Apart from the Chinese and Japanese competition, other factors have altered the position, with the result that the present annual silk production of Kashmir, Panjab, and Balochistan is very limited and the country has to import silk goods from abroad at a price beyond the pocket of its average citizen.

It is worth noting that, though the Pak silk industry has declined in output, it still maintains its reputation for exquisite work in such products as plain silk fabrics, striped silk fabrics and silk brocades woven at the silk weaving factories of Kashmir and Amritsar, *lungees* made at Ludhiana, Khushab, Multan, Kohat and Peshawar, tartans made in Makran, and the silver and gold brocades made in Delhi and Agrah.

Embroidery:—The fascinating art of *phulkari* (flower work) is not only commonly practised but also highly developed in Pakistan. Its best specimens are to be seen in the *orphneys* of Hissar, in the silver and gold-wired caps and the silk-threaded *kullahs* of Lahore and Peshawar, in the tablecloths and table-centres of Kashmir, in the *chikan dozes* and *soznis* of Peshawar and Kohat in Afghanistan, and in the *mosams*, *parawezes* and *pariwars* of Balochistan.

Papier Maché:—The papier maché industry of Kashmir is one of the most artistic industries of Pakistan. Though originally confined to the making of *Qalamdars* (pen boxes), it is now producing such varied articles as tables, candlesticks, cabinets, bowls, trays and vases. Papier maché work, nowadays mostly made of smooth-wood, is also used by wealthy people for decorating the balconies and windows, the ceilings and walls of houses.

Paper and Perfumery:—The paper and perfumery industries, both of which owe their origin to the advent of Muslims, are flourishing in Pakistan. To-day paper of good quality is manufactured at the pulp and paper mills in the

Panjab and Kashmir, the two provinces which are rich in fibres; while excellent *Itrs* and perfumes of Roses, Jasmine, *Champa*, *Hina* and *Khas* are made at several places in the country.

Jewellery:—Jewellery is one of those branches of craftsmanship in which Pak genius has greatly distinguished itself. Influenced no doubt by the refined tastes of Pak ladies, Pak goldsmiths have made the design, the finish and the character of their jewellery as perfect as any in the world.

Apart from such personal jewellery as bracelets and armlets, necklaces and brooches, ear-rings and pendants, and tiaras and coronets, all made in gold and silver, with or without precious stones, other notable work executed at places like Agrah, Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar, and Karachi includes *kalgis*, *turras*, garlands, cuff-links, floral sprays, and many articles in "silver plate in decorative styles."

The Metal Industry:—The metal industry, which chiefly consists of the manufacture of iron, copper, brass and bell-metal, is carried on all over the country. While agricultural implements are made at the smithies in practically every village, cast metal cooking utensils, platters and water-vessels, such as *lotas*, jugs and wash-basins, are made mostly at Delhi, Rewari, Jagadhri, Panipat, Amritsar, Lahore, Pind-Dadan-Khan and Sialkot; steel trunks, boxes, hat-cases and surgical instruments at Lahore, Sialkot and Multan; cutlery, daggers and swords at Wazirabad in Gujranwala District and at Bhera in Shahpur District, Panjab; and small firearms at several factories at the borders of Afghanistan.

Stone-Work:—For the decoration of mosques, palaces and tombs exquisite stone-work has always been in demand in Pakistan, as is shown by the splendour of Pak national monuments.

Practised in the traditional Pak way, the industry still specializes not only in plain stone-work, but also in such

artistic work as "book-rests, tables, thrones, footstools, vases and sword-handles."

Wood-Work:—The forests of Pakistan produce fine timbers suitable for the wood-carving which has been carried on for centuries. The industry specializes in richly patterned "house doors, windows, balconies . . . small-tables, platters and boxes . . ." and attracts traders and connoisseurs from all over the world.

Ivory-Carving:—Ivory-carving is one of the Pak industries which have been brought to the height of perfection. Among its most artistic products are the world-famous little ornaments made at Delhi and Agrah; bangles at Amritsar, Dera-Ghazi-Khan, Gujranwala, Multan and Lahore; billiard balls at Ludhiana; combs, paper-cutters, tablets, and card cases at Amritsar and Leiah.

Pottery:—Pottery is so common an industry in Pakistan that nearly every village has its own potter who makes plain earthenware vessels. For glazed and enamelled pottery Multan is by far the most important centre as is Delhi for glazed china ware, Peshawar for faience, and Panipat, Jhajjar, Jullundur and Tanda for "featherweight pottery."

Glassware:—Glass manufacture is many centuries old in Pakistan and it flourishes not only as an old Cottage Industry, but also as a modern Factory Industry. Its chief centre is at Ambala, but it is also carried on at several other places like Karnal, Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Lahore and Delhi, where among other articles manufactured are bangles, globes, tumblers, mirrors, lamps and lamp-chimneys.

Leather Industry:—In raw hides and skins a thriving export trade is done in Pakistan, and besides it there is being fostered a tanning industry, which is at present represented by the tanneries at Wazirabad and Sialkot and a training centre at Jullundur in the Panjab.

The leather industry as such, though widely practised, is still mainly for home consumption and is confined to the making of shoes, suit-cases, bullet-cases, buckets, gaiters, belts, saddle-cloths, flint-and-steel pouches and powder flasks.

Among industries not noticed above may be mentioned printing presses and the manufacture of iron safes at Gujranwala, glue at Rewari, cement at Lahore, Amritsar, Wah, Karachi and Rohri, oil at Karachi, turpentine and resin at Jallo, sugar at Abdullapur, sports gear at Sialkot, hosiery at Ludhiana and Lahore, whisky and brandy at Srinagar, beer at Murree and Solan, and ice at innumerable centres in the country.

COMMERCE

The geographical position of Pakistan has always helped its commercial interests and enabled it to claim its share of trade in the world-markets.

In the earliest historical times Pakistan secured this share mostly by means of caravans which carried its merchandise through the Passes to the countries of Central Asia and beyond. In the Islamic Era, making full use of its mastery of the seas, it conveyed its goods also by ships to the countries of Western Asia and East Africa, and thus extended its foreign trade and strengthened its whole position as a great exporting country. Indeed, throughout the centuries of this Era, it controlled most of the markets of Dinia, Asia and Africa and used this control not only to maintain its own prosperity but also to promote that of the rest of the world.

After seven centuries of commercial supremacy the first challenge to its position came with the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. It met this challenge successfully and stood its ground for the next two centuries, but it could do so no longer. For, the developments of the 18th century so undermined its position as to incapacitate it to face serious competition. In fact these developments were followed by its political downfall in 1857 and by the con-

struction of the Suez Canal in 1869—the two events which destroyed the very foundations of its economic enterprise and commercial activity.

However, this is a story of the past. We are here concerned with the present and the future. It should therefore be enough to say that since that tragedy happened, the world has changed; and so has Pakistan. While the use of steam power, electricity and aviation has revolutionised the means of communication and trade and removed all barriers between countries and continents, the inspiration of Islam has revived Pakistan and made it rise from its fall and resume its march towards its destiny. In view of this, it is confidently expected that, in the current era of its regeneration, it will take full advantage of modern facilities and recover its old position in the world.

Foreign Sea-borne Trade:—Since the occupation of Pakistan by Britain, most of its foreign trade has been done with Britain and the United States of America, though a little has also been done with other countries, including Japan, China, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Australia, Germany, Netherlands, Italy and Belgium.

As under present conditions the whole life of the country is merged in that of the Continent of Dinia, and no data as to its own trade and commerce are available, it is impossible to give reliable figures of its imports and exports. All we can do is either to quote the statistics obtainable for some of its provinces or to estimate, on a basis of population, that the whole trade of Pakistan is one-tenth of that of the whole of Dinia.

Export Trade:—In adopting this proportional method we find that, during the year 1943-44, the exports of Pakistan were valued at over two hundred and ten million rupees, and that of these just under one hundred and forty million rupees' worth of goods, representing nearly 66% of the total trade, were shipped from Karachi and other Pak ports.

The exports consisted mostly of such raw materials as cotton, wheat, hides and skins, seeds, lac, wool, oils, indigo, fruits, tobacco, silk, wood and fodder.

Import Trade:—The imports for the same period 1943-44, were valued at about one hundred and twenty million rupees, of which about sixteen million rupees' worth of goods, representing nearly 14% of the total trade, entered the country through Karachi and other Pak ports.

The imports comprised such articles as cotton goods, sugar, soap, metals, machinery, silk, oils, chemicals, dyes, matches, paper, woollen goods, rubber manufactures, instruments, tobacco, glass, medicines, apparel, motor vehicles, stationery, books, boots, coal and coke.

Overland Foreign Trade:—The overland foreign trade which Pakistan does with its neighbours is on the whole substantial. While it is a matter of common knowledge that, in the south, it trades mainly with Haidaristan, Hindoostan, Rajistan and Muinistan and through them with the rest of the Continent of Dinia, it is not generally appreciated that, in the north, it trades with the following countries of the Continent of Asia, though with them its trade at present is rather limited.

(1) **Tibet and Turkistan:**—The trade with Tibet and Turkistan is carried through the lofty passes of the Jabaliya, the Karakorum and the Hindoo Kush, which lead from the Panjab, Kashmir and Afghanistan into Central Asia.

(2) **Afghanistan:**—Afghanistan, which is reached through the passes of the Hindoo Kush and Safed Koh, has always had the closest trade relations with Pakistan; and, since the improvement of communica-

tions between the two countries, these have further developed and the export and import figures have risen.

There is every possibility that this improvement will continue at an increased pace; for, in the face of common dangers, the common nationhood of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran is sure to draw them closer together. Not only that. It is destined to unite them to face the world together and to fulfil their age-old common mission in the Orbit of Pakasia.

(3) **Iran:**—Although the two routes leading into Iran—one through the historic Bolan Pass and the other along the Makran coast—are still being taken by traders and travellers, most of the merchandise, previously carried by caravans, is now sent by rail. The result is that the trade between the two countries is rapidly increasing and, as stated above, is bound to increase still further.

COMMUNICATIONS

Pakistan is fairly well provided with means of communications. It has its passes and ports, its rivers and roads, its railways and airways; and it is developing them to meet the growing needs of traffic. These communications may be briefly described as follows:—

PASSES

Between the Saliks in the south-east and the Bahr-i-Garr in the north-west there are many passes on the mountain frontiers of Pakistan, which from the earliest times have served as gateways to Diania and Asia, and have played an important part in the commercial as in the cultural and military history of the country.

Of these passes we shall notice the following:—

The Shipki Pass:—The Shipki Pass, which takes its name from a village of the same name, lies near the terminus of the Pakistan-Tibet Road (previously known as the Hindoostan-Tibet Road) on the eastern border of the Bashahr State in the Panjab. It has an elevation of 15,000 feet and leads from the Panjab into Tibet.

The Karakorum Pass:—The Karakorum Pass lies in the Karakorum Range and has an altitude of 18,317 feet. Leading from Leh in Laddakh to Yaqand in Turkistan, it constitutes an important trade and travel route between Pakistan on the one hand and Turkistan and Tibet on the other.

The Khaibar Pass:—The Khaibar Pass is, of course, the greatest mercantile and military gateway of Pakistan. It lies in the Khaibar Hills, the western extremity of the Safed Koh, has an elevation of 3,400 to 6,800 feet and a total length of about 33 miles, of which nearly 26 miles lie within Pakistan.

This pass connects Pakistan with Afghanistan and Central Asia and is served by a railway and two motor roads which run from Pakistan into Afghanistan.

The Gomal Pass:—The Gomal Pass, which leads from Domandi into Afghanistan, is the most ancient of the passes of Pakistan. Now, as down the ages, it is used by trade caravans and travellers between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The Bolan Pass:—The Bolan Pass lies between Kharlakai Kotal and Rindli in Balochistan. It has an elevation of 750 to 5,900 feet and a length of about 54 miles. Served now by a motor road and a railway, it is one of the most historic routes connecting Pakistan with Afghanistan and Iran.



PORTS

Although the coastline of Pakistan is not ideal for the development of great harbours, it is by no means unsuitable for the construction of good seaports. There are, in fact, many ports which have existed since the advent of Muslims in the eighth century. Most of these are still serving the sea-borne trade and traffic of the country; and to them will soon be added a new major port in the Gulf of Kachch.

Apart from Diu, the island-port off the southern extremity of the country, the following seaports are noteworthy:—

Bhaunagar:—Bhaunagar, the capital of the State of the same name, is a port on the western side of the Gulf of Kambay. It is one of the chief ports of Kathiawar, possessing good warehouse accommodation; and it does a brisk trade in cotton with neighbouring countries.

Mahova:—Mahova is another thriving port in the State of Bhaunagar. It is situated on the bank of the Malan River at a distance of 55 miles from the capital of the State, and does an extensive trade in cotton and grain with Mahrashtr.

Jafarabad:—Jafarabad, capital of the State of the same name, is perhaps the largest port in Kathiawar. It is situated "on the estuary of the Ranai and has great natural advantages for the coasting trade." It does an extensive import and export trade with Mahrashtr and Zanzibar.

Veraval:—Veraval is a port and town on the coast of the Junagarh State in Kathiawar. It is situated on the terminus of the Jetalsav-Veraval Railway and is doing a considerable trade with Mahrashtr and Maskat.

Mangrol:—Mangrol is a small port on the south-west coast of the State of Junagarh in Kathiawar. It stands about a mile from the Bandar and admits only small boats, doing coasting trade.

Porbandar:—Porbandar lies on the coast of the State of the same name and does a considerable trade with Maplistan, Mahrashtr, Arabia, Iran and with the countries on the east coast of Africa.

Bedi:—Bedi is a flourishing port on the coast of the State of Navanagar. It is situated at a distance of about 5 miles from the city of Navanagar and is recognized as one of the most thriving centres of trade in Kathiawar.

Mandvi:—Mandvi, the largest port of Kachch and perhaps one of the busiest in Pakistan, is situated on the south-west coast of the Gulf of Kachch. It is "a port of call for steamers of the British India Line" and provides anchorage for small boats. It is an important commercial centre and does a large trade with Arabia, Mahrashtr, Maplistan, and Zanzibar.

Keti:—Keti, situated in Karachi District, Sindh, is a port in the delta of the Mihran. It is frequented by river-boats and small sea-going craft doing trade with Mahrashtr, Maplistan, and Iran.

Karachi:—Karachi lies to the north of the delta of the Mihran, on the west coast of the Pakian Sea. It is the capital of Sindh and the largest seaport of Pakistan. It is open throughout the year, has first class facilities, and takes ocean steamers of any size.

Karachi is the emporium of Pakistan. It provides the main outlet for the products of the country and also serves the transit-trade between Europe and most of the countries of Central Asia. It is still growing both as a trading centre and as a seaport, and has unlimited potentialities, being the nearest Dinian port to Europe—"200 miles nearer than Bombay."

The development of aviation has further enhanced the importance of Karachi. It lies on the main line of aerial communications between Britain and Australia and promises to become the nerve-centre of air traffic between Europe, Africa, Dinia, and Australia.

Sonmiani:—Sonmiani is an old port in the Las Bela State of Balochistan. It lies on the Sonmiani Bay about 50 miles from Karachi. Before the development of Karachi as a seaport in the last century, it was the chief port of Pakistan for trade with Western Asia.

Pasni:—Pasni is a small but growing port in Makran, Balochistan. It is equipped with a wireless telegraph station and receives mail steamers and coastal boats. It carries on a considerable trade with Sindh, Maskat and Iran.

Gwadar:—Gwadar is the largest port in Makran, Balochistan. It is a port of call for mail boats and for steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Co., and has a rapidly expanding import and export trade with Mahrashtar, Iran and Iraq.

In addition to these ports, there are some minor ports which afford good anchorage for steamers, sailing craft and junks of the kind that carry on small trade with Iran, Arabia, Rajistan, Mahrashtar, Dravidia and Ceylon.

ROADS

The road system of Pakistan comprises a network of metalled and unmetalled roads, which so cover the country as to connect its provinces, cities, and towns. They give access to its hill-stations, health-resorts, and other beauty-spots; and some of them are of great strategic importance for the defence of its rather far-flung frontiers.

Although no complete data are obtainable for the country as such, it is estimated that the total mileage of Pakistan's roads is over 60,000. Of this about 15,000 miles are metalled and 45,000 unmetalled; about 40,000 motorable and 20,000 unmotorable.

Of the main highways of the country we may notice three, of which the most important is the old *Shahrah*, now

called the Grand Trunk Road. It was constructed by Pak Padshahs and it is "the greatest highway in the world." Traversing Bangistan, Bihar, Hindoostan and Haidaristan, it enters Pakistan in the Delhi Division, and from there, passing through the Panjab Districts of Karnal, Lahore and Attock, it terminates at Landikotal, lying at the top of the Khaibar Pass. It will therefore be seen that between Calcutta, the capital of Bangistan, and Peshawar, the capital of Afghanistan in Pakistan, it runs through five countries of the Continent of Dinia.

Next in importance to the *Shahrah* is the strategic Pakistan-Tibet Road, which, starting at Ambala, runs through Kalka, Simla, and Bashahr State and finally reaches the Shipki Pass on the frontier of Tibet.

Lastly, there are the Peshawar-Dera Ismail Khan Road, which runs through Afghanistan, and the Lahore-Srinagar Road, which runs right through the heart of the Panjab and Kashmir and serves practically half of Pakistan.

RIVERS

The rivers of Pakistan provide the best illustration of Pascal's aphorism: "The rivers are roads which move." They are all navigable and, as such, afford facilities for both travel and trade. The Mihran, Jehlum, Chinab, Beas and Sutlej are crossed at all times of the year by country boats, and the first of them—the Mihran—is crossed also by the steamer-ferries at Kalabagh, Dera-Ismail-Khan, Ghazighat, and Sukkur.

RAILWAYS

The railway system of Pakistan is about 84 years old, the first line having been opened in 1862 between Lahore and Amritsar. Since that year it has been steadily expanding and now its open mileage is nearly 7,000.

The system includes the main line of the North-Western

Railway, together with its various branch and subsidiary lines, and the Southern Panjab Railway. Among the branch and subsidiary lines must be mentioned the Amritsar-Patti, the Bhatinda-Bikaner, the Hissar-Bhatnagar, the Haidarabad-Jodhpur, the Rewari-Alwar, the Delhi-Mathra and Delhi-Agrah, the Delhi-Ambala-Saharanpur, the Ambala-Kalka-Simla, the Morvi and the Bhaunagar-Gondal-Junagarh-Porbandar.

The most important of the railway lines of Pakistan is the North-Western Railway, which as such has existed since 1886. It enters Pakistan in the Delhi Division and, running from Delhi to Lahore and thence to Rawalpindi, finally reaches Peshawar. From there a narrow-gauge line through the Khaibar runs "from Jamrud to the frontier of Afghanistan."

The North-Western Railway enters Sindh at Reti and terminates at Karachi. It enters Balochistan near Jhatpat and runs to Sibi, "where it bifurcates, one branch going via Harnai to Khost, and the other via Quetta to Chaman. In addition a narrow-gauge line runs from Spezand to Zahidan in Iran and a narrow-gauge line from Bostan to Fort Sandeman."

It will be seen that the North-Western Railway serves most of the country and may rightly be called the National Railway of Pakistan.

Next in importance to it is the Southern Panjab Railway, which runs between Jind, Rohtak, Bhatinda and Firozpur and also links up Delhi with Karachi.

Finally there is the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka Line, which is really a part of the East Indian Railway. It runs from Delhi via Karnal to Ambala and thence to Kalka.

It is worth noting that the Pak railways play an important part in the international traffic of the Continents of Dinia and Asia. In fact, they constitute almost the only means of transport for passenger as well as goods traffic to and from many countries of Central Asia, including Afghanistan, Tibet and Turkistan.

AIRWAYS

The people of Pakistan have taken to flying with characteristic zest and have established aviation clubs at several places in the country where instruction is provided in flying. Amongst the most important of these clubs are the Delhi Flying Club, the Karachi Aero Club and the Lahore Flying Club.

The Airways of Pakistan are at present merged in those of "India" and are, therefore, usually referred to as Indian lines. In order to avoid confusion, we shall mention these "Indian" lines only in so far as they serve Pakistan.

Internal Air Services:—Pakistan is served only by the Indian National Airways, New Delhi, which operate between Delhi, Lahore and Karachi, and between Karachi and Calcutta, the capital of Bangistan.

External Air Services:—So far as foreign air service is concerned, Pakistan is linked with the outside world by the British Airways and Indian Trans-Continental Airways; the Dutch K.L.M.; and the Air France.

POSTS, TELEGRAPHS, AND TELEPHONES

There is an extensive system of post and telegraph offices, telephone exchanges and sub-exchanges in Pakistan, which form part of the Indian Postal system. It is controlled by the Posts and Telegraphs Department of the Government of India, which issues no separate statistics concerning the magnitude of business of the post, telegraph and telephone services of Pakistan.

In addition to the telephones there is the Radio Telephone Service, by means of which telephonic communication can be established with any part of the world.

WIRELESS SERVICES

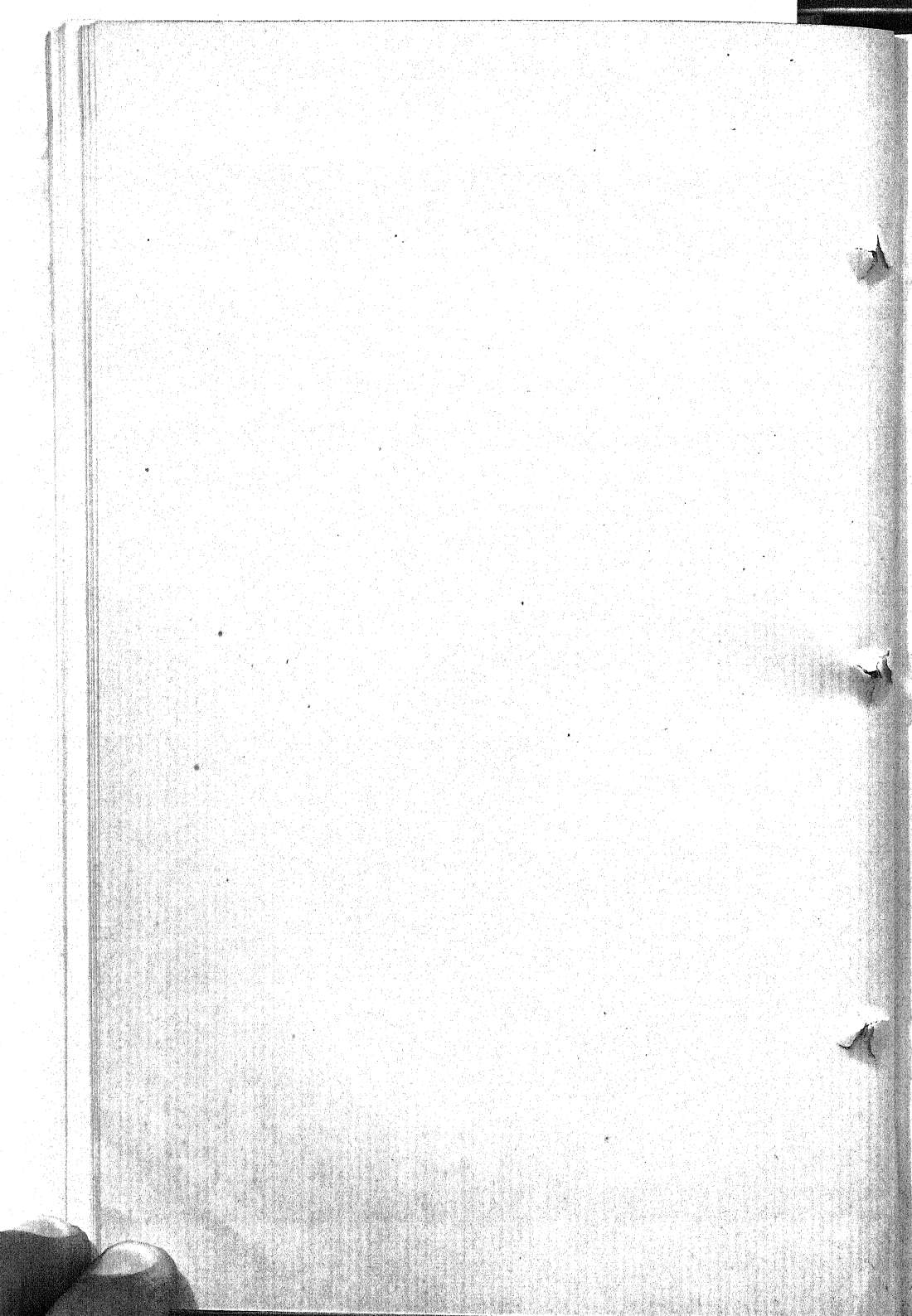
The aeronautical wireless service in Pakistan, which is employed for the purpose of "communication with ships at sea and with regular air services," is represented by the wireless stations at Delhi, Karachi and Jiwani, "which at present are operated by the British Airways Ltd. on behalf of the Air Ministry."

BROADCASTING SERVICE

The Broadcasting System of Pakistan is at present part of the All-India Radio Broadcasting System. It has its headquarters in New Delhi and operates three stations in Pakistan, namely, Delhi, Lahore and Peshawar, which between them use several transmitters.

PART II

Provinces, States, Enclaves and
Notable Places



CHAPTER VI

THE PROVINCES

We have already mentioned that at present Pakistan comprises seven Provinces and three Tracts. That is, the Provinces of the Panjab including the Delhi Division, Afghanistan (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sindh, Balochistan, Kachch and Kathiawar; and the Tracts, which include the two cis-Jamna Strips and the one between Sindh on one side and part of Gujrat and Kathiawar on the other.

Here we shall describe briefly these components of Pakistan and begin with the Panjab.

The Panjab:—The Province of the Panjab, though, as its very name denotes, originally the land enclosed by "the Five Rivers," namely the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chinab and Jehlum, to-day embraces much more than that. It includes, also, first the tableland of Sarhind, lying between the Sutlej and the Jamna; then the area between the Jehlum and the Mihran (Indus); and finally the Abbasi State of Bahawalpur and the trans-Mihran District of Dera Ghazi Khan and part of the District of Mianwali.

So it will be seen that, within its present limits, the Province actually comprises most of the territory watered by seven rivers and is therefore, in fact, the "Haftab"—the land of the Seven Rivers.

However, the Panjab together with the Delhi Division lies between $27^{\circ}39'$ and $34^{\circ}2'N.$ and $69^{\circ}23'$ and $79^{\circ}2'E.$ and, including the States, it has an area of 138,105 square miles, and a population of 34,309,861. The vernacular of most of the people is Panjabi, though Pak, also, is spoken in Ambala and Delhi Divisions, Balochi in parts of Dera Ghazi Khan District, and Pashto in parts of Attock and Mianwali Districts.

The religion professed by the majority of the people is Islam, though there are minorities professing other religions. Of the population about 58% are Muslims, about 24% Caste

Hindoos, 13% Sikhs, and 5% Akhooths, Christians, Jains, Buddhs, and Animists, etc.

The capital of the Province is Lahore, which has a population of 671,659, and other leading cities are Amritsar (391,010), Rawalpindi (181,163), Multan (142,768), Sialkot (138,348), Jullundur (135,283), Ludhiana (111,639), Gujranwala (84,545), Firozpur (82,502), and Lyallpur (69,930).

Physically, the Panjab may be divided into five natural regions:— (1) the Jabaliyan, which is rather thinly populated; (2) the Salt Range, comprising the Districts of Attock, Rawalpindi, Jehlum and parts of Shahpur; (3) the Salikian, i.e., the submontane tract of the Saliks; (4) the Eastern Plain, embracing some of the highly productive and thickly populated area; and (5) the Western Plain, wherein lie the fertile, wealthy and populous colonies irrigated by the Jehlum and Chinab Canals.

The Panjab has two classes of territories, one consisting of 43 principalities and chiefships with which we deal in the next chapter, and the other of 29 peoples' districts, which are grouped under five Commissionerships.

Since the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, the administration of the Province is conducted by the Governor with the assistance of a Council of Ministers, who are constitutionally responsible to the Governor and a Legislature consisting of 175 members.

In spite of the fact that Muslims form about 58% of the population, only 86 members (49% of the total) represent them as such in this legislature, while the remaining 89 (51% of the total) represent non-Muslims, who form only 42% of the population, and certain other interests.

It is hardly necessary to add that this is the direct and dire consequence of the inclusion of the Province in "India." It spells good neither to the Muslims, who lose their sovereign majority rights in its legislature and its administration, nor to the Caste Hindoos or Sikhs, who, despite extra representation at the expense of Muslims, still remain "minorities."

So far as the original creation and integration of Pakistan is concerned, the Panjab was the fifth foundation Province, having been liberated for the most part by Marshal Muhammad Qasim in 712. In the downfall, disintegration, and "Indianization" of the country in the last century, it was the fourth, having fallen to the British in 1849 and been annexed the same year to their Indian Empire. So, with the exception of Balochistan, it was the last Province of Pakistan to suffer the tragedy of defeat and of capitulation to the British, who incorporated it in India, in which since that fateful year it has, like the rest of Pakistan, been a *Milli irridenta*.

Afghania:—The Province of Afghania, which is officially but non-descriptively known as the North-West Frontier Province, lies between $31^{\circ}4'$ and $36^{\circ}57'N$. and $69^{\circ}16'$ and $74^{\circ}7'E$. It has an area of 39,279 square miles and a population of 5,415,666.

Of its people about 92% are Muslims; while the remaining 8% are mainly Caste Hindoos, Sikhs, and Christians. The vernacular of the people is Pashto—though in Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan Districts Panjabi is also spoken.

The capital of the Province is Peshawar, which has a population of 173,420, and other leading cities are Dera Ismail Khan (54,306), Kohat (44,977), Naushera (44,022), Mardan (42,494), Bannun (38,404), Abbottabad (27,424) and Char-saddah (16,845).

Physically, Afghania may be divided into three main regions: the cis-Mihran Region of Hazara, the Region lying between the Mihran and the mountains, and the Mountainous Region lying between the "settled districts" and Afghanistan. Politically, it is divided into five states, to which we refer in the next chapter; eight peoples' districts; five "Political Agencies": Malakand, Khaibar, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan; and six Tribal Areas.

Like the Panjab, since the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, the Province is administered by the Governor and Agent to the Governor General of India with the assistance

of a Council of Ministers, who are constitutionally responsible to the Governor and the Legislature.

The Legislative Assembly consists of 50 members, of whom nine (18%) are Caste Hindoos, though their community constitutes barely 6% of the total population of the Province; and three (6%) Sikhs, whose community forms not even 2% of the population. If we exclude the two Landholders' members, this leaves 36 members (72%) for the Muslims, who constitute about 92% of the population. It shows that the inclusion of Afghanistan in "India" injures not only the supreme interest of Pak nationhood but also of Muslim representation in the legislature and administration of the Province.

Afghanistan is the second foundation unit of Pakistan, having been liberated by General Asim b. Amr in 645. In the fall of the nation, it was, together with the Panjab, the last but one Province of Pakistan to be annexed by the British in 1849 to their "Indian" Empire and to be incorporated by them in "India."

Then 52 years later it was, in the interest of Imperial defence, arbitrarily detached from the Panjab and constituted into a small separate Province in 1901. This, needless to add, was the worst blow struck by the British at Pak national solidarity after 1857. On the one hand it disintegrated the Pak nation still further, and on the other it intensified the deadly menace of "Indianism" to the very existence of the nation.

Kashmir:—This Province, known as Kashmir to-day, includes besides Kashmir proper the territories of Jammun, Puncch, Chenani, Baltistan and Yaghistan. It lies between $32^{\circ}17'$ and $36^{\circ}58'N.$ and $73^{\circ}26'$ and $80^{\circ}30'E.$ and has an area of 84,471 square miles, and a population of 4,012,616. Of its people 78% are Muslims, 16% Caste Hindoos and about 6% others.

The vernacular of the people is Kashmiri, though in parts adjoining the Panjab, Panjabi is spoken, and in the north Shina is used. The capital of the Province is Srinagar, which has a population of 207,787; other leading towns are Jammun

(58,847), Baramula (12,724), Sopar (11,770), Punchh (8,608), Mirpur (8,556) and Kathua (5,586).

Physically, Kashmir falls into three natural divisions:— the Semi-Mountainous tract, comprising the “plains bordering the Panjab and the broken mass of foothills lying at the base” of the Jabaliya; the Outer Hills, comprising “the lower hills lying roughly to the south of the Pir Panjal”; and the Jhelum Valley comprising Kashmir proper and that part of the Mihran Valley which consists “mainly of the middle reaches” of the Mihran.

Administratively it is divided into four regions: Kashmir proper, Jammun, Laddakh, and Gilgit.

The administration is at present conducted by the Maharaja with the assistance of ministers appointed by, and responsible to, himself. There is a state legislative council composed of 75 members, of whom 40 are elected and 35 nominated by the Maharaja.

It is a notorious fact that, in the composition of the council as well as in the administration of the Province, the sovereign majority rights of Muslims have throughout been systematically sacrificed by the Dogra House in the interest of minorities.

However, it must be stated that the legislative council is more an advisory than a law-making body, and as such it has little say in the general administration of the Province.

In the original integration of Pakistan, Kashmir was its sixth foundation Province, having been liberated by Hisham b. Amr al-Taghlibi in the third quarter of the eighth century. Ten centuries later, when disintegration set in, it was the second Province to fall to the British; who, after annexing it in 1846 to their Indian Empire, “sold” it to Gulab Singh Dogra—a transaction which in its sordid iniquity has no parallel in world history and whose legality and validity ever has been and ever will be repudiated by the Paks.

Sindh:—The Province of Sindh lies between $23^{\circ}35'$ and $28^{\circ}29'N.$ and $66^{\circ}40'$ and $71^{\circ}10'E.$ and comprises the lower valley and delta of the Mihran River. Including the principality of Khairpur, it has an area of 54,186 square miles, and

a population of 4,840,795. Of its people about 71% are Muslims, 22% Caste Hindoos, and 7% members of other communities.

The vernacular of the people is Sindhi, which is written in the Arabic script.

The capital of the Province is Karachi, which has a population of 359,492, and other leading cities are Haidarabad (127,521), Sukkur (66,466), Shikarpur (62,746), Larkana (28,085), Jacobabad (21,588), Mirpurkhas (19,591), Nawabshah (17,509) and Rohri (14,721).

For the purposes of administration Sindh is divided into eight districts and it has one principality within its boundaries.

Since the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, the administration has been conducted by the Governor with the assistance of a Council of Ministers who are constitutionally responsible to the Governor and the Legislature, which is composed of 60 members.

The membership of the Legislative Assembly is as follows:—Caste Hindoos and other non-Muslims, who form only 29% of the population, are represented by 24 members constituting 40% of the total strength of the Legislature; while Muslims, who form 71% of the population, are represented, as such, by 34 members, constituting only 56.6% of the Legislature.

This again is the result of the incorporation of the Province in "India"; and like the Muslim representation in the legislatures of other Provinces of Pakistan, it is as dangerous to the interests of the Sindh Muslims as to the interests of the Pakistan as a whole.

It is a well-known fact that historically Sindh is the third foundation Province of Pakistan, having been liberated by Marshal Muhammad Qasim in 711-12. It was the second to fall to the British and pass under their rule in 1843. It was not only annexed by them to their Indian Empire but also attached till 1935 to Mahrashtra, otherwise known as the Bombay Presidency, with which it had nothing in common, and to which its attachment caused its moral and material starvation.

However, it is encouraging to find that the people of Sindh,

conscious of what they had to suffer in the past, are now making strenuous efforts to reconstruct their life and resume their proper place in Pakistan.

Balochistan:—The Province of Balochistan lies between $24^{\circ}54'$ and $32^{\circ}4'N.$ and $60^{\circ}56'$ and $70^{\circ}15'E.$ and includes most of the territory of the homeland of the Balochs; but not all of it. For at present this is partitioned between the British Indian Empire and Iran, with the result that it is split into four parts. Apart from the Province of Balochistan, the region of Karman is included in Iran, that of Dera Ghazi Khan in the Panjab, and certain tracts in the District of Jacobabad in Sindh. Need one add that, at least so far as the British "Indian" Empire is concerned, this fragmentation of the Baloch territory shows utter disregard for the ethnic entity of the Balochs, who form one of the most homogenous units of the Pak nation.

The following statement concerns only the Province which is incorporated in India; and which includes the areas annexed by the British under the Treaty of 1879, and the "leased areas" and "tribal areas" acquired by them after that Treaty.

Including the states and tribal tracts, the Province has an area of 134,002 square miles and a population of 857,835; of which about 91.5% are Muslim and 8.5% non-Muslim. The vernacular of the people is Balochi and the capital of the Province is Quetta, which has a population of 64,476. The other leading "towns" are Fort Sandeman (9,353), Loralai (5,095), Sibi (8,854), Chaman (6,650), Machh (2,220) and Usta (1,925).

Balochistan has four natural divisions: "upper highlands, lower highlands, plains and deserts." For administrative purposes, it is divided into three principalities, "tribal areas," and six districts, namely, Zhob, Loralai, Quetta-Pishin, Chagai, Bolan, and Sibi.

Its administration is under a Chief Commissioner, who is responsible to the Government of India. This is because,

thanks to the idiotic policy of the Government, the India Act of 1935 does not apply to Balochistan with the result that it has no legislature or council of ministers. However, such is the ancient tradition of the Balochs that most of their institutions are run on the old lines of the *jirga* system, which represents democracy *par excellence*.

The historical Balochistan is the first foundation unit of Pakistan, its region of Karman having been liberated by General Abd Allah in 645. It is naturally proud of this position and like other parts of the country still faithfully follows the Saracenic tradition in social, cultural and other fields of life. In the disintegration of Pakistan, it was the last Province to fall to the British and in 1879 it was incorporated by them in their Indian Empire, of which like other units of Pakistan it still remains *Milli irridenta*.

Delhi:—The Delhi Division comprises the old District of Delhi, which was detached from the Panjab in 1912 to form the Division, and some 65 villages of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, which were added to it in 1915.

The Division has an area of 574 square miles and a population of 917,939. For all administrative purposes it is part of the Panjab; and the city of Delhi, which is the capital of the Division and of the British Indian Empire, has a population of 521,849. The administration of the Division is run by a Chief Commissioner.

Kachch:—The quasi-island of Kachch, which was known to the old Pak historians as Al-Kass, lies between $22^{\circ}47'$ and 24° N. and $68^{\circ}25'$ and $71^{\circ}11'E$. Exclusive of the Rann, it has an area of about 8,461 square miles and a population of 500,800. It is a princely state and its administration is conducted by the Maharao-Mirza and his ministers.

The capital of the state is Bhuj, which has a population of 26,331, and the other leading towns are Mandvi (28,750) and Anjar (16,773).

Geographically as well as historically a part of Sindh, and

nationally one of the first lands of Dinia to come under the Crescent and Stars, the status of Kachch in the original integration of Pakistan is co-equal with that of Sindh. In the disintegration of the country it was the first to fall. It passed under British protection as early as 1815 and in the same year was incorporated by them in their Indian Empire.

The people of Kachch have always been Muslim in spirit and outlook, even if not so in name. This they still are, and their faith finds expression both in the title of the Ruler of Kachch, who is known as Maharao-Mirza, and in the names of the people, which are at least partly Muslim. The Paks, being fully conscious of this, are taking keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the people of Kachch, especially because, since the revival of Caste Hindooism, some of the Kachchis are becoming slightly susceptible to "a modified form" of Caste Hindooism.

Kathiawar:—The peninsular of Kathiawar, also known as Sorath, lies between $20^{\circ}41'$ and $23^{\circ}8'N$. and $68^{\circ}56'$ and $72^{\circ}20'E$. It is, strictly speaking, the western portion of the Province of Gujrat and is situated between the Gulf of Kachch and the Gulf of Kambay. It has an area of about 23,500 square miles and a population of about 4,000,000.

It consists mostly of principalities, chiefships, and *jagirs*, some of which are small and some large; but all are administered by their own rulers. We refer to them in the next chapter.

In geological times, Kathiawar, like the rest of Pakistan, was part of the bed of the Tethys and since the beginning of historical times, when the Mihran emptied itself in the Gulf of Kambay, it has been part of the Mihran Valley. However, in so far as its own history is concerned, it has since 1024, when Sultan Mahmoud conquered Somnath, been part of Pakistan.

The cis-Jamna Strips:—The cis-Jamna Strips include two tracts of the territory of the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh which lie along the southern bank of the Jamna River.

The first of these stretches from the source of the river to a point near the town of Kalsi in Dehra Doon District, and the second from the meeting-point of the Districts of Gurgaon, Panjab, and Mathra, U.P., to the city of Allah Abad. The Strip has an area of about 17,250 square miles and a mixed population of Muslims and Hindoos.

The Siguka Strip:—This is a small strip of territory which comprises the Muslim states in the Palanpur Agency and links Sindh with Kathiawar. It has an area of about 3,500 square miles.

From this statement on the "Indian" components of the country it will be seen that nothing short of these "Indian" frontiers can correspond with Pakistan's ancient "Indian" limits—limits which correspond with the immemorial boundaries of the Mihran Valley, in which lay the cradle and nursery of our pre-historic civilization. But it must be remembered that though, throughout the ages, these components have formed important provinces of the country, not one of them, as constituted to-day, fully reflects its own individual historical entity. It is, therefore, natural that the re-creation of their historical entities is one of the first and foremost aims of the Pak nation. For the nation realizes that without such a re-creation, as without a re-integration of its "Indian" and Asian components, Pakistan can neither assume its full territorial and national life, nor play its proper rôle in the world.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRINCIPALITIES

In the previous chapter we have referred to the classification of the territories of some Provinces into peoples' districts and principalities. We have stated that, apart from Kashmir and Kachch, which have the status of Provinces, there are about 240 chiefships in the country. These, though integral parts of their respective Provinces, deserve separate notice. For they represent territorial units which are administered by their princes and chiefs; and which, as such, closely affect the consolidation of the country and the integration of its people.

In view of that, to understand the true position of the principalities is the duty of all Pak citizens, and to fit them appropriately into the country is the responsibility of Pak statesmanship. To do that two things have to be remembered by all concerned. The first is that while some of the principalities are the creation of the British, some date from Pak Imperial times and some even from pre-Pak days. The second is that though in principle they all have similar status, the practical recognition of that status has taken different forms both in and since Pak Imperial times. In other words, some of them have been treated as *jagirs* and others as *riasats*. The result has been the growth of certain hereditary interests and privileges which call for a calm and careful study conducted in that spirit of Pak justice, which throughout the ages has been the envy of friends and foes alike and which the Paks wish to see supreme in the world.

At the same time it is essential to record that, while they are always ready to recognize all legitimate rights, whether of private individuals or of princes, the Paks absolutely reject and repudiate the sweeping and senseless statement of the President of the All-India Muslim League accepting in the name of Muslims the principle of the sovereignty of the

princes. They do this because to accept that statement would be an act of self-destruction. For it would be, first, to renounce all Pak claims to Kashmir and Kachch and other states which are integral and inseparable parts of Pakistan; secondly, to create something like 200 sovereign Caste Hindoostans and 6 sovereign Sikhistsans within Pakistan; and thirdly, to dismember Pakistan itself before its rise and recognition.

I wish to make it perfectly clear that this rejection and repudiation does not mean that the Paks want to ride roughshod over the rights of princes. No. They do not want to do that. It is against their tradition. Nor does it mean that they want to adopt the destructive policies which are being formulated by the Caste Hindoos regarding the states in the Continent of Dinia. Never. That way lies madness. All that they want to do is to be fair to all interests including the future of the nation, and to regulate justly the existence and position of the principalities within the body-politic of the nation.

That sums up the basic position of the Paks with regard to the principalities and leaves us to give some facts concerning most of the principalities in each Province, which will help readers to appreciate their significance in the life of the country.

Panjab Principalities:—There are 43 principalities in the Panjab; and their total area is 39,016 square miles and population 5,891,042. These are arranged in the table below according to their areas:—

		Area in Sq.			
	State	Character	Miles	Population	Capital
1	Bahawalpur	Muslim	17,494	1,341,209	Bahawalpur
2	Patiala	Sikh	5,942	1,936,259	Patiala
3	Bashahr	Rajpoot	3,622	111,459	Rampur
4	Chamba	Rajpoot	3,127	168,908	Chamba
5	Jind	Sikh	1,299	361,812	Sangrur
6	Mandi	Rajpoot	1,139	232,593	Mandi
7	Sirmour	Rajpoot	1,091	156,026	Nahan
8	Nabha	Sikh	947	340,044	Nabha
9	Kapurthala	Jat	645	378,380	Kapurthala

10 Faridkot	Sikh	637	199,283	Faridkot
11 Bilaspur	Rajpoot	453	110,336	Bilaspur
12 Suket	Rajpoot	392	71,092	Baned
13 Nalagarh	Rajpoot	276	52,780	Nalagarh
14 Jubbal	Rajpoot	274	28,538	Deorha
15 Loharu	Muslim	226	27,892	Loharu
16 Kalsia	Jat	188	67,393	Chhach- hrauli
17 Keonthal	Rajpoot	186	27,713	
18 Malerkotla	Muslim	165	88,109	Malerkotla
19 Baghal	Rajpoot	120	27,529	Arki
20 Bhajji	Rajpoot	94	16,474	Seoni
21 Dujana	Muslim	91	30,666	Dujana
22 Kumharsain	Rajpoot	84	13,983	Kumharsain
23 Tharoch	Rajpoot	70	5,363	
24 Balsan	Rajpoot	57	6,649	
25 Pataudi	Muslim	53	21,520	Pataudi
26 Mahlog	Rajpoot	49	8,631	Patta
27 Koti	Rajpoot	44	9,721	
28 Baghat	Rajpoot	33	11,022	
29 Theog	Rajpoot	31	7,307	
30 Dhami	Rajpoot	28	5,114	
31 Madhan	Rajpoot	23	4,403	
32 Kuthar	Rajpoot	21	4,970	
33 Sangri	Rajpoot	21	3,839	
34 Kanethi	Rajpoot	21	3,173	
35 Rawain	Rajpoot	16	982	
36 Mangal	Rajpoot	14	1,325	
37 Ghund	Rajpoot	9	1,959	
38 Delath	Rajpoot	8	1,673	
39 Dhadi	Rajpoot	7	282	
40 Kunihar	Rajpoot	7	2,399	
41 Bija	Rajpoot	5	1,058	
42 Darkoti	Rajpoot	5	632	
43 Ratish	Rajpoot	2	542	

Afghanian Principalities:—In the Province of Afghanistan there are five principalities, which are listed in the table below. Their total area is 9,061 square miles and population 588,644.

	State	Character	Area in Sq.		Capital
			Miles	Population	
1	Chitral	Muslim	4,000	80,000	Chitral
2	Swat	Muslim	5,061	508,644	Saidu Sharif
3	Dir	Muslim			Dir
4	Amb	Muslim			Shergarh
5	Phulra	Muslim			Phulra

Kashmir Principalities:—The Province of Kashmir, which as already mentioned is at present itself a state, has within its boundaries several Muslim principalities in Baltistan and Yaghistan, concerning which no reliable statistics are available. In addition to these, there are two Caste Hindoo chiefships, namely Punchh (area 1,627 square miles and population 421,828) and Chenani (area 95 square miles and population 11,796).

Sindh Principality:—In this Province there is only one principality. That is the Muslim state of Khairpur, which has an area of 5,989 square miles and a population of 305,787. The capital of the state is Khairpur, which has a population of 17,510.

Balochistan Principalities:—In Balochistan there are the following three principalities, the total area of which is 79,546 square miles and population 356,204.

	State	Character	Area in Sq.		Capital
			Miles	Population	
1	Qalat	Muslim	53,995	253,305	Qalat
2	Kharan	Muslim	18,508	33,832	Shahr-i-Kariz
3	Las Bela	Muslim	7,053	69,067	Bela

Siguka Principalities:—The Siguka Corridor between Sindh and Kathiawar which has an area of about 3,500 square miles and a population of about 400,000, comprises the following five principalities:—

State	Character	Area in Sq.	
		Miles	Population
Palanpur	Muslim	1,766	315,855
Radhanpur	Muslim	1,150	67,691
Malik-Jorawarkhan	Muslim	—	
Tervada	Muslim	—	
Varahi	Muslim	300	

Kathiawar Principalities:—As already stated, almost the whole of Kathiawar consists of principalities, chiefships and *jagirs*, which number no less than 188. Their total area is about 24,000 square miles and population about 4,000,000.

The more important of these principalities, some of which lie in the Hanadikia Enclave of the country, are given in the table below.

	State	Character	Area in Sq.		Capital
			Miles	Population	
1	Navanagar	Rajpoot	3,791	504,006	Navanagar
2	Junagarh	Muslim	3,337	670,719	Junagarh
3	Bhaunagar	Rajpoot	2,961	618,429	Bhaunagar
4	Dhrangadhra	Rajpoot	1,167	94,417	Dhrangadhra
5	Gondal	Rajpoot	1,024	244,514	Gondal
6	Morvi	Rajpoot	822	141,761	Morvi
7	Porbandar	Rajpoot	642	146,648	Porbandar
8	Wankaner	Rajpoot	417	54,965	Wankaner
9	Limbdi	Rajpoot	344	44,024	Limbdi
10	Palitana	Rajpoot	300	76,432	Palitana
11	Jasdan	Kathi	296	37,679	Jasdan
12	Dhrol	Rajpoot	283	33,617	Dhrol
13	Rajkot	Rajpoot	282	102,951	Rajkot
14	Lakhtar	Rajpoot	247	26,780	Lakhtar

15	Wadhwan	Rajpoot	242	50,915	Wadhwan
16	Sayla	Kathi	222	15,352	Sayla
17	Vala	Rajpoot	190	16,197	Vala
18	Bajana	Jat	183	13,996	Bajana
19	Muli	Kathi	133	16,977	Muli
20	Bantva (Gidad)	Muslim	132		
21	Jetpur	Kathi	120	35,145	Jetpur
22	Malia	Rajpoot	103	10,788	Malia
23	Bantva-	Muslim	101	26,209	Bantva
	Manavdar				
24	Kotda-	Rajpoot	90	12,160	Kotda
	Sanghani				
25	Chuda	Rajpoot	78	15,818	Chuda
26	Virpur	Rajpoot	66	8,594	Virpur
27	Jafarabad	Muslim	53	13,837	Jafarabad
28	Lathi	Rajpoot	48	10,812	Lathi
29	Khirasra	Rajpoot	47	5,893	
30	Patdi	Kunbi	39	3,147	Patdi
31	Amrapur	Muslim			
32	Kamadhia	Muslim			
33	Randhia	Muslim			
34	Khijadia	Muslim			

Kambay:—The Muslim principality of Kambay lies at the head of the Gulf of Kambay. It has an area of 392 square miles and a population of 96,592. The capital of the state is Kambay, which has a population of 34,941.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENCLAVES

In addition to the principalities and chiefships, and quite distinct from them all, there are three Enclaves in Pakistan. That is, the special regions which are earmarked for the minorities within the country. These are the Sikhia, the Hanoodia, and the Hanadikia. They represent roughly the share in the total area of the country of those sections of the Sikh and Caste Hindoo minorities which claim a national entity distinct from the Pak nation, and want to consolidate themselves within the country.

Unlike other nations in the Continent of Dinia, the Paks do not resent this attitude of their minorities. On the contrary, they look upon it with understanding and are quite willing to meet it, if only the Caste Hindoos of the Caste Hindoo-majority regions of Dinia will do the same for Muslims living therein.

This understanding is not merely theoretical. It is practical. To give tangible expression to it, the Paks have already earmarked these three areas of Pakistan to serve as enclaves for the above-mentioned sections of their minorities; and they are prepared to enter into formal agreements, recognizing those areas as the Sikh and Caste Hindoo Enclaves, *on the sole but absolute condition* that the Caste Hindoos will at the same time act likewise and allot and assign to their Muslim minorities the six regions to which they are entitled, namely, Osmanistan in the Deccan, Siddiqistan in Bundhelkhand and Malwa, Faruqistan in Bihar and Orissa, Haidaristan in Hindoostan (United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), Muinistan in Rajistan, and Maplistan in the Madras Presidency.

Having explained the fundamental position of the Paks about the discontented minorities we shall briefly describe the Enclaves.

Sikhia:—The Enclave of Sikhia comprises the four Sikh principalities, namely, Patiala, Jindh, Nabha and Faridkot. It has a total area of 8,825 square miles and a population of 2,837,398. Of its people 1,174,523 (41.4%) are Sikhs; 870,155 (30.7%) Caste Hindoos; 619,236 (22%) Muslims, and the remainder, 174,484 (5.9%), includes the Akhooths, Ad-Dharmis, Christians, Jains, Parsees and Buddhists.

On the fulfilment of the above-mentioned condition, and on the acceptance of Sikhia by the Sikhs concerned, the Muslims living in it will be exchanged with the Sikhs living outside it; that is, in other parts of Pakistan.

Hanoodia:—The Enclave of Hanoodia is for similar sections of the Caste Hindoos living in the eastern half of Pakistan. It comprises that part of the cis-Jamna Strip of the territory of Pakistan which lies along the southern bank of the Jamna River from Agrah to Allah Abad in the United Provinces and which represents roughly the proportional area of the above-mentioned Caste Hindoos of eastern Pakistan. Again, as in the case of Sikhia, so in that of Hanoodia, on the fulfilment of the condition and on the acceptance by the Caste Hindoos concerned of the Enclave, the Muslims living therein will be exchanged with the Caste Hindoos living in other parts of eastern Pakistan.

Hanadikia:—The Enclave of Hanadikia lies between the southern half of Kathiawar and the Rann of Kachch and represents approximately the proportional area of similar sections of the Caste Hindoos living in the western half of Pakistan. It is needless to add that its provision too is made on the same basis and subject to the same conditions as that of the other two enclaves. That is, the condition of reciprocity by the Caste Hindoos in other lands of Dinia and the basis of the exchange of Muslims in it with the Caste Hindoos in other regions of western Pakistan.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORIC REGIONS AND CITIES

Pakistan is exceptionally rich in historic places—places which have played a memorable part in the ebb and flow of its life and are intimately associated with the making of its history. This is mainly due to the importance of the country, which attracted to its soil not only conquerors and colonisers but also crusaders, who, down the centuries, heroically worked and battled there to establish the supremacy of their beliefs and ideals. All this has naturally left the country full of places which, at one time or another, were centres of conflict and power, of creed and culture.

It is obvious that such places, irrespective of their present rôle, have an importance of their own. They are the milestones of Pak history, marked with the symbols of destiny. They bear a message to all who have the sense to heed it. That is, a message which means “woe to the weak,” and which the Paks, if true to their mission, must take to heart, study with reverence, and act upon with resolution.

Of such regions and cities the following, mentioned here in alphabetical order, may be noticed:—

Agrah is the creation of Pak sovereigns and, after Delhi, it is the most historic city of Pakistan and, for that matter, of Dinia.

From the time of Sikandar Lodhi in 1500 to the time of Emperor Ghazi Aurangzeb, the Great, in 1658, it was at different periods the capital of the Pak Empire. Of all the Pak sovereigns it was most specially favoured by Akbar and Shah Jahan, who adorned it with such architectural beauties as the Taj Mahal and the Fort, palaces and *Diwans*, terraces and balconies.

After the death of the Ghazi Emperor in 1707, Agrah passed through troublous times. It was often turned into a battle-

field by the rebel Jats, who captured it in 1764, and held it for six years. It was occupied by the Mahrattas in 1770, but was liberated by the Paks in 1774. During the next thirty years it suffered several sieges, saw much fighting, and changed hands many times. Finally, it fell to the British on 18th October, 1803, and became the capital of the North-Western Province. In 1858, when Allah Abad was made the capital, it became "merely the headquarters of a Division and District," which it still is.

Amritsar, though not so old as a city, is nevertheless an historic place. It is the sacred city of the Sikhs, and for a short period, was also the capital of their state, which was one of the Dominions of the Pak Empire.

The city, which actually stands on the site granted to the Sikhs by Emperor Akbar, was founded by Guru Ram Das in 1574 and completed by his son and successor, Guru Arjan, who made it the religious centre of Sikhism.

It contains the famous Sikh shrine, called the Golden Temple, and constitutes the third largest city in Pakistan. It is also the foremost centre of trade and industry in the country and, since the settlement of craftsmen from Kashmir in 1833, it has been famous for the manufacture of shawls, carpets, and the Bokhara cloth.

Bhattiana:—The region of Bhattiana, which, broadly speaking, comprises the area lying between the old Hariana, Pak-Raj Desert, and Bhatinda, takes its name from the Bhattis, who are a well-known community of the Pak nation and who have also given their name to Bhatinda in Patiala State, Panjab, and to Bhatnair in Bikaner State, Rajistan.

In this region there are to be found "numerous ruins of towns and villages," which show that it was "once the home of a thriving people," which it remained until the invasion of Pakistan by Taimour in 1398.

In the fourteenth century, when occupied by the Bhattis and Mains, it formed part of the principality of Abohar, which

was a protectorate of the Divalpur State of those days. Later it was incorporated in the Pak Empire, which its gifted chiefs like Rai Hansu Khan and Rai Ahmad Khan served with distinction for three centuries.

It was captured by Amar Singh of Patiala in 1774 and by the Mahrattas in 1801. Two years later the British attempted to take possession of it, but were thwarted by its chiefs Bahadur Khan and Zabta Khan, who "proclaimed their independence" and maintained their free status for the next twelve years. However, by 1818 the British had become strong enough to defeat the Bhatti chiefs and annex Bhattiana to their Empire. Once they had accomplished this, they reduced the region to the position of a district, and attached it to Hindoostan, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, which was then called the North-Western Province.

After the War of Independence of 1857, the District of Bhattiana was detached from Hindoostan and re-attached to the Panjab, while its headquarters were transferred to Sirsa. This was followed by still another change in 1884, when Sirsa ceased to be a District and Hissar became the seat of the old District of Bhattiana instead.

Chillianwala and Gujrat:—Chillianwala is a village in the Phalia *tahsil* of Gujrat District, Panjab; and Gujrat itself is of course the famous old capital town of the District, which has so often figured in the chronicles of Pakistan. Both the village and the town are memorable in the recent history of the country as the scene of what is erroneously called the Second Sikh War, 1849; but which more correctly deserves to be known as the Second British War. For this war was fought by the Paks under General Muhammad Akram Khan and the Sikhs under General Sher Singh as allies against their common enemy, the British.

The battle of Chillianwala was won by the Pak-Sikh Forces on 13th January, 1849, inflicting very heavy casualties on the British; but the battle of Gujrat was lost on 21st February, 1849, and with it was lost not only the war but also the Panjab,

as well as the Pak power in most of the other regions of Pakistan.

Delhi is the most historic and hallowed city of Pakistan. Ever since its foundation about 3000 B.C., to possess it has been the supreme ambition of all great statesmen and soldiers. Indeed, such has been its appeal that throughout the ages, sometimes in it and sometimes around it, but always for it, have been fought the most heroic actions of history. That is, the actions in which the noblest and the bravest of many nations have engaged and in which millions of men have shed their blood and laid down their lives.

No wonder, therefore, that no other city in the world has known such triumphs and tragedies, such fulfilments and frustrations as Delhi. In fact, it has seen the longest succession in history of races and religions, of civilizations and cultures, of empires and kingdoms, all of which have one after another risen and fallen, with itself as the centre and capital of them all. So, it is no exaggeration to say that Delhi is history; and history is Delhi, not only for Pakistan, but also for Dinia.

The legend about its origin is that, first founded as Indraprastha and then known as Indrapat, it was for thirty generations the centre and stronghold of the Pandos. On their overthrow it became the capital of the Visarwas for five hundred years and then of the Gautamas for fifteen generations. And finally, when these were succeeded by the Mayuras, it still retained its rôle; but about the first century B.C. took the name of Dillipur, said to have been given to it by Dillu, who is supposed to have been "the last ruler of the Mayura Dynasty."

However, the authentic fact is that, after being ruled by several chiefs and princes in succession, it was conquered by the Paks in 1211 and made the capital of their kingdom in 1224. Not only that. From that time onward it became the supreme object of their adoration, the symbol of their greatness, and the centre of their culture. They improved and modernized it; they added to it Tughlaqabad and Shahjahana-

bad; they enriched it with the wonders of their architecture. In a word, they made it "a heaven on earth."

It remained the metropolis of the Millat and the arsenal of her might until 1857, when it fell to the British, who reduced it to the position of a District town, until they in their turn made it the capital of their Indian Empire in 1911.

This it still is. But not for long. For no matter who rules there for the time being, Delhi is Pak and Pak it must—and shall—remain. It is the shrine of the Millat in Dinia, and the Millat knows how to recover its shrines.

Gandhara is the classical designation of that region of Afghania which includes "the modern district of Peshawar, with part of Kohat, the Mohmand country, Swat, Bajaur, and Buner."

At one time a Province of the Persian Empire, to whose ruler Darius the people of Gandhara "furnished a contingent in his invasion of Greece," and at another an independent state, with its capital at Peshawar, it is historically famous as the great seat of Buddhism, containing hundreds of monasteries; and as a flourishing centre of "Graeco-Bactrian culture in the centuries after Alexander's invasion." It maintained this position until about 515, when it was invaded and devastated by Mihirakula, the Hun.

Finally, in the Islamic era, it embraced Islam with the whole of Afghania, and became for ever a great stronghold of Pak civilization and power.

Haidarabad:—The city, in fact, the whole region of Haidarabad, Sindh, originally known as Nerankot, is one of the most historic places in Pakistan. It was the scene of the two most dynamic yet ironically contrasting events in the history of the country, and, indeed, of the whole Continent of Dinia.

The first of these events took place in 711, when, after capturing Daibal, the Paks, led by Marshal Muhammad Qasim, marched on Haidarabad and, fighting heroically under

its walls, won a most decisive battle for the liberation of Pakistan and thereby laid the foundations of the mission and might of Islam in Pakistan as well as in Dinia. The second event occurred eleven centuries later, when in 1843, the Paks, defending their freedom, fought near the city of Haidarabad a series of battles against the British, the outcome of which was fatal to the independence of Sindh and, in its sequel, to that of Pakistan and the Pak Empire in Dinia.

Haryana:—The region of Haryana comprised parts of the present-day Districts of Hissar and Rohtak and parts of the Jind and Patiala States, Panjab. In the olden times it was, as its name indicates, an extremely fertile tract of Pakistan, possessing fine green pasturage and extensive fields cultivated with sugar-cane and wheat. In fact, in that period of its history, it was "the centre of a flourishing civilization," and the core of a State which until the fourteenth century had its capital first at the town of Hansi, and later at Hissar.

In the eighteenth century Haryana constituted a buffer state between the principalities of the Sikhs, the Bhattis and the Mahrattas, and suffered the traditional fate of buffer states. For, in spite of its efforts to keep out of the quarrels of its powerful neighbours, it became their battlefield and suffered great devastation. This tragedy was followed by the calamity of the 1795 famine, which sealed its fate and reduced its chances of recovery. Then in 1797-8 it was captured by George Thomas and after being occupied by the Mahrattas for a short time, it finally passed in 1803 under the protection of the British, who seven years later annexed it to Hissar District, Panjab.

Kurukshetar:—The region of Kurukshetar, now included partly in Karnal District and partly in Jind State, Panjab, comprised "the country lying west and south-west of the town of Thanesar."

It was a flourishing region in the seventh century and the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang was so impressed by its prosperity that in his account he described it as "the field of

happiness." In those days it is believed to have been "divided into seven or nine *bans* or forests," and to have included no fewer than 360 religious places; of which the most important were Thanesar, Pehowa, Jind and Kaithal.

Kurukshetar is sacred to the Caste Hindoos. It was the earliest centre of their creed and culture, which from here spread throughout the Continent of Dinia, replacing the Dravidian creed and culture. Secondly, it was the scene of the epic fight between the Kauros and the Pandos, which, among other things, determined the course of the history of Dinia for fifteen centuries.

Lahore:—The city of Lahore, which was founded by Malik Ayyaz, has always occupied an important position in Pakistan. In the Ghaznavi period, it became first the capital of a *subah* (Province), and then the capital of Pakistan and of the Pak Empire in Dinia.

The fall of the Ghaznavis spelt the fall of Lahore from its proud position. It was deprived by the Ghauris of its previous status in 1114, and later reduced by them to the position of an ordinary town in the Pak Empire. However, it was restored by the Mughals to its original position as a provincial capital and made the third chief city of Pakistan.

From that time onwards its progress was continuous. It steadily grew in size, population and magnificence and became such a distinguished city as to receive from Abul Fazl the compliment of being "the grand resort of people of all nations."

In 1799, King Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the suzerain of the Panjab, granted the administration of Lahore to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who made it the seat of his Dominion. After it had occupied this position for half a century, it was, on the fall of the Dominion in 1849, surrendered by Maharaja Dalip Singh to the British, who annexed it to their Indian Empire and made it the capital of the Panjab.

The Lahore of to-day is the largest city in Pakistan and possesses several splendid mosques and mausoleums, as well as pleasure gardens, grounds and a famous fort.

Outside the city proper lie Anarkali and the civil station, which contain the law-courts, university, colleges, modern business houses, amusement places, and modern residential quarters. In addition to these, there are the suburbs, which have lately developed into sizable towns; and the cantonment, which is one of the largest in the country.

Mudki and Firozeshah, Aliwal and Sobraon:—The villages of Mudki and Firozeshah lie along the banks of the Sutlej River, in Firozpur District, while Aliwal and Sobraon are in Ludhiana District, Panjab. These four villages are all famous in history as the places where in 1845-46 the Pak-Sikh Forces, defending the freedom of the Panjab, fought the First War against the British; and where, thanks to treachery, they suffered defeat and lost the war—a loss which made it possible for the British to establish a protectorate in the Land of the Five Rivers.

Multan, which in its long history has been known by various names, is one of the most ancient and historic cities of Pakistan and throughout the centuries has played a memorable rôle in the life of the country. Thus, long before its conquest by Marshal Muhammad Qasim in 712, it had been an important place in the successive kingdoms of the Greeks, Bactrians, Kushans and White Huns.

After 712, it became for nearly 300 years the capital of the Pak Empire under the Arabs; and then, on its conquest by Sultan Mahmoud Ghaznavi in 1005, it formed an important stronghold of the empire under the Ghaznavis. On their overthrow by the Ghauris in 1175, it was incorporated in the Pak kingdom at Delhi but kept up as an important north-western citadel of that kingdom. In the course of the next three centuries, it suffered ten invasions including those of Taimour in 1397 and Babar in 1528, as a result of which it became part

of the Pak Empire, now built up by the Mughals. Two centuries later, in 1752, it was part of the Pak kingdom at Kabul, and in the last century, after being threatened several times by the Sikhs, it was captured by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818. This was a short-lived possession, for only thirty years later—in 1849—it was surrendered by Maharaja Dalip Singh to the British. It is worth recording that, in the War of Independence, it was one of the centres of the rising, and the regiments stationed there, though disarmed, were engaged in action in August, 1858.

Multan to-day comprises the old city and the cantonment and it constitutes a centre of the silk, cotton and carpet industries, and an entrepôt for trade between Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. It is, above all, a great religious stronghold and contains several famous shrines, including those of Hazrat Qureishi Baha-ul-Din Zikariya and Hazrat Muhammad Yoosaf Gardezi, to which we refer elsewhere.

Pakhli:—The region of Pakhli, which roughly corresponds with "the ancient Urasa," comprises the tracts of Mansehra, Shinkhari and Bhir-Kand of Afghanistan.

It is one of those regions whose history goes back to the earliest period of the story of Pakistan. In the pre-Alexander period a flourishing kingdom and in the seventh century a dependency of Kashmir, it became again an independent State and was, in the sixteenth century, a domain of the Khakhas and Bambhas. In the hey-day of the Pak Empire under the Mughal dynasty it was a fiscal district of the Panjab; but under the Durrani it emerged into a principality ruled by its chief, Saadat Khan, who greatly enhanced its power and prestige.

Panipat:—The Plain of Panipat, lying round the town of the same name in Karnal District, Panjab, represents a region which throughout the ages has been the main gateway of the Continent of Dinia. In other words, it has been the most fateful battlefield of both Pakistan and Dinia, and on it have

been fought at least five crucial battles—battles which have decided the fates or fortunes of the nations and empires of Dinia, and profoundly influenced the course of the history of Asia, if not of the world.

While two of these battles were fought in the remote past, three took place in comparatively recent times. The first of these was fought in 1526 when that great master of the art of warfare, Zaheer-ud-Din Babar, defeated Ibrahim Lodhi and won for his dynasty not only the throne of his Fatherland—Pakistan, but also the imperial sceptre of Dinia. Then, thirty years later, in 1556, there was fought the second battle, in which Akbar annihilated the armies under Hemoun Baqqal and thereby ensured the security of Pakistan and the consolidation of the Pak Empire. The last of these battles was fought in 1761, when Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated the Mahratta armies and destroyed for ever “the unity of Mahratta power” and thereby saved Pakistan, Dinia and Pakasia from their hegemony.

Peshawar, the capital of Afghanistan, is one of the oldest cities in Pakistan, and has been an important place throughout the ages. In the pre-Pak times, it was first the seat of the administration of a Chandar Bansi Prince, then a great centre of Buddhism, and finally, in 978, the base of the forces of Jaipal which were sent against Sabuktigin and which were defeated and destroyed by him.

This victory of Sabuktigin over Jaipal opened a new chapter in the history of Peshawar. It led to the incorporation of the city in the Pak domain and to its creation as a great cantonment. Later, when Sultan Mahmoud started his victorious career in the service of Islam, he “fought many of his greatest engagements” in the region of Peshawar, and strengthening the city as a fortified centre of the Pak Empire, he made it the main base of his historic campaigns in the Continent of Dinia. The city maintained this position throughout the centuries and remained a redoubtable citadel of Pakistan and of the Pak Empire.

It was captured in 1738 by Nadir Shah and, on his death, by Ahmad Shah Abdali, after which it was "often the seat of the Kabul Court." In 1823 it was invaded by the Sikhs, who were resisted and repulsed by Azim Khan; and then for nearly a quarter of a century it saw much turmoil and trouble, and finally in 1849 it fell to the British and was incorporated in their Indian Empire.

Sarhind:—The present-day *tahsil* of Sarhind, Patiala State, Panjab, corresponds with the old historic tract of Sarhind, which, as its very name indicates, formed the *Sar-i-Hind*. That is, the south-east frontier province of Pakistan, facing Hindoostan. Owing to its strategic position, the whole region of Sarhind has always been of vital importance to the Paks, who have fought on its soil many bitter and bloody battles with their enemies—battles which on several occasions have caused the destruction of the town and the devastation of the whole region. However, it is remarkable that every time it was destroyed, it rose from its ashes and resumed its natural rôle as a frontier region protecting the integrity of Pakistan.

The present town of Sarhind, which actually stands on the ancient site of the extensive ruins of several dead and forgotten cities of the same name, was rebuilt by Emperor Firoz Shah III at the wish of his *Pir*, Hazrat Saiyyid Jalal-ul-Din Bukhari, an ancestor of *Mujaddid Alf-Sani* whose shrine there is greatly revered and is visited by people from all over the country.

Throughout famous for its prosperity, and for its beautiful mosques and mausoleums, all built by Pak sovereigns and nobles, Sarhind fell on evil days in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It became a bone of contention between the Paks and the Sikhs, and consequently suffered serious destruction, from which it has never quite recovered.

Somnath, which lies in the Muslim principality of Junagarh, Kathiawar, is one of the most historic places in Pakistan. It has been so since the year 1024, when Sultan Mahmoud conquered it in dramatic circumstances so vividly described by

historians. No wonder that ever since then it has occupied a unique place in the Pak mind; and it has always been identified with the supremacy of spiritual duty over personal good or material gain.

It has been called "a gloomy place—a city of graves and ruins"—but this is hardly a fair description. No doubt on its west lie many Pak mosques and mausoleums and on its east many Hindoo shrines and monuments; but that does not make it any more gloomy than other cities possessing similar places of worship and similar cenotaphs. The truth is that it is a hallowed place, with which are associated some of the most devout acts and dynamic episodes of Pak history.

Thatta, also known as Nagar Thatto, lies about 50 miles to the east of Karachi, Sindh, and, like Delhi, occupies the old site of several towns of the same name, which one after another have flourished and faded down the centuries, leaving behind only a huge mass of ruins to remind one of their existence.

There is some doubt about the origin of this historic town. Although some writers have identified it with the ancient Patala and others with Daibal, the fact is that nothing is known for certain regarding its pre-Pak history.

However, it is an admitted fact that, from the eighth century onward, Thatta was one of the largest and busiest cities of Sindh; and, what is more, in the Mughal period of the Pak Empire, it was not only the capital but also "the emporium of Sindh." Alexander Hamilton, who visited it in 1699, states that it was "a large and rich city, about 3 miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles broad." That it maintained this position down to the middle of the eighteenth century is shown by the fact that when Nadir Shah entered it "at the head of his army in 1742, there were 40,000 weavers, 20,000 other artisans, and 6,000 dealers of various kinds." No wonder, therefore, that as a centre of business it had trade relations with such distant countries as Ceylon, Malaya and China; as a centre of shipping it possessed as many as 40,000

vessels; and as a centre of learning it maintained 400 schools and colleges, where instruction was given free to all students.

The city was justly proud of this position, for which, from time to time, it had to pay a penalty. Thus in 1372 it was stormed by Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who is said to have burnt it; in 1521, it was attacked and devastated by Shah Beg Arghun; in 1555 it was "pillaged and burnt by the Portuguese"; and, in 1591, it was "again destroyed during the invasion of Sind by Akbar."

Und, which is now a small village, "just beyond the north-east corner of Peshawar District," Afghanistan, was once a rich and great city. In fact, some historians say that, before its conquest by the Paks, it was the capital of a Turki dynasty, ruling the country now called Afghanistan.

Apart from that, its chief claim to historical fame lies in the fact that, in the year 1001, it was the scene of one of the decisive battles fought by Sultan Mahmoud Ghaznavi, the victorious conclusion of which "opened his way into the Panjab" and thus gave him a good start in the conquest of Pakistan and also of other countries in the Continent of Dinia.

Zhob:—The region of Zhob, Balochistan, corresponds with the present-day District of the same name, which lies between Afghanistan and Afghanistan on the one side and the Koh-i-Sulaiman and Loralai and Quetta-Pishin Districts on the other.

Zhob is famous as the original home and hearth of the Afghans, whose forts and castles, mounds and *maris* are found all over the region. They were living there even in the seventh century when the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang visited Pakistan and other countries of the Continent of Dinia. Indeed, it was from there that they sallied forth to serve the cause of Islam and to found dynasties and build empires in Dinia.

In 1398, Zhob was the scene of a fight between Pir Muhammad—the grandson of Taimour—and the Afghans,

who, repudiating the authority of the Taimouris, had asserted their independence in their ancient homeland. Then, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it again proved its strength against one of its own kith and kin—Ahmad Shah Abdali—who recognized it as a self-governing State and, to mark his recognition, conferred the title of "Ruler of Zhob" on the head of the Jogizai family. Finally, true to its tradition, it gallantly fought the British to maintain its independence and accepted their protection only in 1889, when surrender by its neighbours had made impossible the continuance of its fight for freedom.

CHAPTER X

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SITES AND PLACES

No country in the world can have greater interest and attraction for archæologists than Pakistan. It abounds in the ruins and remains of dead cities and deserted sites which lie asleep under, or stand silently on, its soil.

Some of these date from pre-historic times, others from the Dark Ages, and still others from the Middle Ages. But, whatever the period they belong to, they all bear witness to the great and ageless past of Pakistan and invest it with hallowed memories—memories which in their antiquity and appeal surpass even those of Babel and Nineveh, of Persepolis and Pompeii. What is more, like nothing else, they recall to mind the eternal Quranic truth that no human greatness or glory can last for ever unless it is built and maintained on Islamic foundations.

Of such cities and sites the following, mentioned here in alphabetical order, are of exceptional historical value:—

Aror:—The present small village of Aror, situated about 5 miles south-east of Rohri, Sukkur District, Sindh, stands on the site of the ancient ruined city of Alor, which, before the liberation of Sindh by Marshal Muhammad Qasim, was the fortified capital of one of the Rulers of Sindh.

The ruined city, which stood "on the bank of the old course of the Mihran, is said to have almost equalled Multan in size." It is traditionally believed to have been "destroyed by the earthquake which, about 962, diverted the river into its present channel," and thereby caused the decay and disappearance of several others towns of Sindh.

It has been said that after this tragedy the inhabitants of Alor settled near the new course of the Mihran and thus founded the new town of Al-Rur now called Rohri; but more

reliable accounts show that Rohri was "founded by Saiyid Rukan-ud-Din Shah in 1297."

Brahmanabad:—The ruins of the buried city of Brahmanabad, which "once stood on the old course" of the Mihran, lie in the Sinjhora *taluka* of Thar-Parkar District, Sindh, and show that it was "a strongly fortified" place.

They are scattered over an area of several square miles, and include "numerous relics," which indicate not only the "architectural excellence" of its buildings but also a high degree of culture attained by its inhabitants. From the unearthed remains it seems that the city itself was the "commercial centre," and had, for its suburbs, the towns of Depur, the royal residence, and Dalari, "the official quarter."

The traditional belief about its fate is that "in punishment for the iniquities of King Dolora," its Hindoo Raja, it was destroyed by a violent earthquake in the eighth century.

Chanuho-Daro:—The remains of the city of Chanuho-Daro, Sindh, are considered to be one of the most important archæological finds of recent times. As the work of excavation is still proceeding on the site, it is impossible to make a detailed statement regarding the discoveries made, but from the data already available it is clear that the civilization of Pakistan is much older than indicated by the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro.

Daibal:—The missing city of Daibal, Sindh, will always be remembered in history for two reasons. It was the first city in the whole Continent of Dinia to be liberated by Marshal Muhammad Qasim in 711. Secondly, it is one of those famous cities of Pakistan which, after flourishing for centuries, mysteriously vanished from the face of the earth.

Archæologists have made great efforts to trace the site of Daibal and to find the cause of its disappearance; but without satisfactory results. Some of them have identified it with Thatta, others with Manora, and still others with Kakar Bukera. Again, some have expressed the opinion that it was

actually the same place as Bhambora, which according to Ali Sher Kani, author of the *Tuhfat-ul-Karim*, was destroyed by an earthquake and which is famous *historically* as being one of the first cities stormed by Marshal Muhammad Qasim and *romantically* as the birthplace of Sassi—the heroine of the love-story of Sassi and Pannun. But all this is mere speculation, and no authentic explanation is yet available regarding its site or its disappearance.

It must not be assumed from this that Daibal was an obscure and insignificant place, the fate of which could not interest many people. On the contrary it was, from 711 down to the middle of the seventeenth century, a flourishing city and a busy sea port, visited by tourists and traders who have left interesting accounts of its life and prosperity.

Delhi:—The Plain which surrounds the modern city of Delhi and covers an area of about fifty square miles to the south, is one of the most important archæological regions in the world. It is a cemetery of cities, which, founded at different periods of history by different rulers, were favoured for a time by them and their peoples and then deserted by their successors.

It is believed that in this Plain there lie buried the ruins and remains of at least seven cities which, one after another, flourished and faded in the course of centuries. Of these, two belong to the Hindoo period, and five to the earlier Pak period. Of the former, Indrapat is the more interesting. It is supposed to have been “built on the site of Indraprasta,” and its ruins throw a good deal of light on the life of the country.

Of the five cities of the early Pak period, the most important is Tughlaqabad, which was founded as a new capital by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlaq in 1321. Its remains lie “about four miles east of Qutab Minar,” and show that it was a grand city, built “on a rocky eminence” and in every way comparable with the best-planned cities of modern times. Its buildings include a “massive citadel,” a wonderful mausoleum

and several majestic palaces, all of which, though now lying in ruins, bear eloquent testimony to the skill of the Pak architects and engineers of the Tughlaq period.

Next in importance to Tughlaqabad is Firozabad, which was founded by Firoz Shah Tughlaq in 1353. Its ruins occupy "the ground between the tomb of Humayoun and the Ridge," and include the famous palace which, "in the days of its splendour," was considered to be one of the most beautiful royal residences in the Orient. It was therefore a tragedy that this city, on the planning and building of which so much time, skill and treasure were expended, was hardly completed before it was destroyed by Ameer Taimour in 1398.

Harappa:—The old, historic Harappa lies in the *tahsil* and District of Montgomery, Panjab. It is a site of great antiquity and its ruins cover an area "three miles in circumference." They speak of its past greatness and show that, about 3000 B.C., it was such a flourishing centre as to compare with some of the famous cities of Elam and Mesopotamia.

The modern village, which stands on the ancient site, is considered to be a mere relic of the once great city which, at the invitation of its own citizens, was invaded by Marshal Muhammad Qasim in order to punish its ruler, Har Pal, who had committed some of the worst crimes known to mankind.

According to Cunningham, Harappa is the ancient historic town of the Malli, "mentioned in Arrian as that against which Perdiccas was sent with Alexander's cavalry."

Manikiala:—The ruins of the ancient town of Manikiala lie in the small village of the same name in the *tahsil* and District of Rawalpindi, Panjab, and comprise nearly fifty Buddhist buildings, including a tope, fifteen monasteries, and many huge stone walls.

Although nothing is definitely known of its history, local tradition asserts that Manikiala was founded by Raja Man who named it after himself and made it into a great centre of Buddhism. However, the only point on which the historians

are agreed is that it flourished for centuries as a stronghold of Buddhism and was quite a large town when it was destroyed by fire.

Mansourah:—The ruins of Mansourah lie in the Thar-Parkar District of Sindh, and consist of the majestic buildings erected by its Arab rulers in the best style of Saracenic architecture.

The city, which stood a few miles from Brahmanabad, the pre-Islamic capital of Sindh, was founded by Mansour bin Jamhur and from 871 onwards was the capital of Sindh, which at one time constituted one of the two Muslim kingdoms in Pakistan, the other being that of Multan.

According to all evidence, Mansourah in its day was one of the largest and most populous cities of Pakistan. In fact, according to Istikhari, "it was more fertile and populous than Multan" and, apart from its political importance, was noted for its groves and gardens and for its fruit trade with its neighbouring countries.

Mohenjo-Daro:—Mohenjo-Daro lies about 8 miles off the Dorki railway station in Sindh, and after Chanuho-Daro it is considered to be, chronologically, the most ancient and, historically, the most important site so far discovered in Pakistan.

The ruins of Mohenjo-Daro date from 2750 B.C., and cover the site of several other cities, the oldest of which is supposed to have flourished about 5000 B.C. It is clear from the ruins that as a city it was well planned and well built; that both sun-burnt and fire-burnt bricks were used in its construction; that "the houses were two-storeyed" with "outside staircases"; and that water was laid on in them, bathrooms put in, and an "elaborate system of drainage" provided.

In the buildings of the city, many interesting articles have been found. These include cooking utensils, figures and toys; a piece of cotton material, which is believed to be "the earliest known in the world's history," gold and silver

jewellery of wonderful craftsmanship, some beautiful pottery, and a few foreign seals and coins, showing that the city had contacts with other countries of the world.

The discovery of Mohenjo-Daro is of epochal importance. It has profoundly modified the views so far held by historians about the stages of human progress, about the sources and centres of the earliest civilization, and about the history of Pakistan, to which it has added at least 3,500 years. In doing that, it has exploded once and for all the false yet sedulously propagated myth that the earliest civilization of Pakistan was Caste Hindoo in origin, character and development. In fact, it has conclusively proved that 1,500 years before the descent of Caste Hindoos, Pakistan possessed a very high degree of civilization comparable to that of Iraq and Egypt.

Pari Nagar:—The ruins of Pari Nagar lie near the village of Virawah in Thar-Parkar District, Sindh. They cover an area of about 6 square miles and include the remains of the pre-Pak temples and marble pillars.

It has been said that Pari Nagar was founded in 456 A.D. by Jeso Paramara of Balmir. However, the only historical fact about it is that in the Pak period it was so flourishing as to be reckoned among the most important cities in the country. It seems to have maintained this position for nearly a thousand years and then, like several other towns in the Mihran Valley, it was for some unknown reason deserted by its people, with the result that it fell into decay and ruins in the sixteenth century.

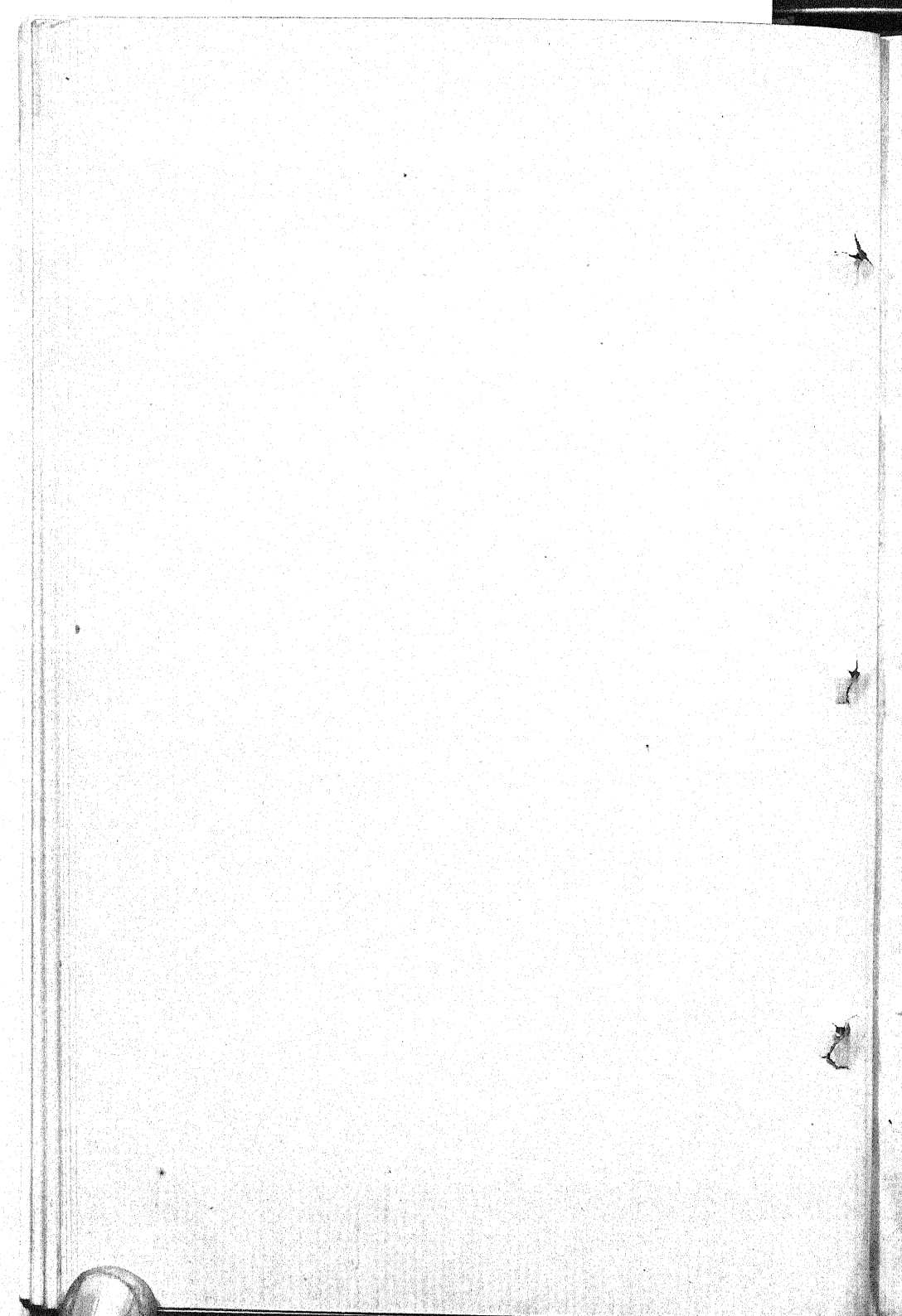
Taxila:—The name Taxila is the hellenised form of Taxaila, meaning the city of the Takkas, who were probably a tribe of the Turanian race. It is worth noting that the latest researches have completely disposed of the Caste Hindoo suggestion that it was named after Taksha, the son of Bharta, who had conquered its surrounding country.

The ruins of Taxila lie near Shah Dheri, which is about 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, Panjab, and comprise "three

different cities that flourished in adjacent sites in successive epochs and a number of monastic establishments centred around topes, situated in the suburbs or perched on the tops of hillocks in the vicinity."

Judging from the evidence unearthed at the site, Taxila was, *architecturally*, a city of "regularly planned streets, houses and palaces," *culturally*, "the meeting place of three great civilizations"—the Pak, the Asian and the Greek—and, *historically*, the capital of one of the pre-historic Turanian kingdoms that flourished in the Mihran Valley.

Its ruins also throw light on the story of Buddhism, on the connection of Pakistan with the Sumerian civilization, and on the high degree of culture attained by its people in that pre-historic period in the development of Pakistan. This conclusion finds further confirmation in the earliest historical references to Taxila, which show that, in the ninth century B.C., it was one of the great cities of Pakistan and in the seventh century B.C., the seat of a "far-famed university."



PART III

The People

CHAPTER XI

ETHNICAL STOCKS

It is a notorious fact that the rise and ascendancy of European civilization is synonymous with the revival and reassertion of racialism in the modern world—racialism which in effect is the cult of castology run amuck. It assumes the inequality of Man before Man and his Maker; and it denies the creed of the Brotherhood of Man—the creed which stands for the unity and equality of the human race and which holds out the only hope for the survival of Mankind.

It must be painfully clear to all right-minded people that, since the revival of racialism, the world has changed for the worse. Its social standards have gone down and its moral values have deteriorated. The doctrine of blood has taken the place of the gospel of spirit in the affairs of mankind and has been used to decide the position of peoples and fraternities in the world. It has inspired the policies and purposes of nations, determined their friendships and enmities, and entailed bondage for hundreds of millions of people. Not only that. It has brought about such a decline in intellectual honesty that, though everybody knows it to be historically false and socially foul, yet most nations, especially the so-called enlightened and advanced among them, believe in it, fight for it, and feel proud of it.

In this moral and intellectual state of the world, one can hardly be surprised that, since the birth of Pakistan in 1933, the question of the ethnical composition and racial definition of its people has persistently been raised by those interested in its struggle for self-determination. They have remarked, "True, Pakistan means the land of the Paks; but who are the Paks and to what racial stock do they belong?"

To satisfy such people we shall answer the question in the conventional terms and state some elementary facts about the ethnical origin of the Paks.

In their origin the Paks belong to the stock from which sprang those gifted tribes of pre-historic times who created and developed the oldest civilization of the Mihran Valley and, for that matter, of the world. Further, as time passed, fresh waves of people came to the land from various regions of Eurasia, and were absorbed into the original stock. These included, among others, the Dravidians, who are mentioned in history as the original inhabitants of the country; and whose representatives are now found mainly in the Brahuis of Balochistan and in some groups of the population of the cis-Jamna Strips.

This was about 3,000 years ago. That is, at the very dawn of history, when, as never before or since, mankind was on the march and people were seeking new homes in more hospitable lands. Inevitably, therefore, since those remote eras, Pakistan, like every other country, has in the course of ages received further additions to its original stock. Aryans as well as non-Aryans have come to the country and all have been assimilated alike. This process has gone on century after century, and has been greatly intensified since 638 A.D. For from that time onwards the standard-bearers of Islam—the Arabs and Iranians, the Afghans and Turanians—have come to Pakistan and made it their home. This was natural; for, its association with that vast region of the Orient, the spell of whose civilization and the sweep of whose sway transformed half the world, has ever inspired Muslims all over the world to come to its soil in order to serve the cause of its dedication and shape the course of its destiny. This has naturally affected the ethnological composition of the people so profoundly that they now form a distinct unit of the human family which can be described only as Pak.

This composition is reflected in the six main physical types which are generally met with among the Paks. These are the Turko-Iranian type, comprising Afghans and Balochs; the Dino-Aryan (Indo-Aryan), consisting of the Panjabis and Kashmiris of the Vale; the Scytho-Dravidian, represented by some small numbers scattered all over the country; the Aryo-

Dravidian, living in the Delhi Division and the cis-Jamna Strips; the Mongolo-Dravidian, met with in areas of the most northerly region of the Jabaliya; and, lastly, the Mongoloid, inhabiting the Lahul and Kullu tracts in Kangra District, Panjab, and the Laddakh and Baltistan territories of Kashmir.

These physical types are represented today by the ten clans or communities which may be said to constitute the nation. The most numerous of them are the Jats, Rajpoots, Gujars, Raeens, Afghans, Balochs, Awans, and Sheikhs, whose ethnical diversity finds spiritual unity in Islam and makes Pakistan a miniature Muslim world.

Such are the racial origins of the Paks, who are known to the world as people of light complexion, regular features, and splendid physique; and who are reckoned among the finest specimens of manhood. Not only that. With their stoical discipline, their martial qualities, and their splendid achievements, they take an honourable place among the nations of the world.

Increase in Population:—During the past forty years the population of Pakistan has grown considerably. Indeed, as compared with 1901, the figures of the 1941 census show an increase of 17,727,077, which means an increase of almost 50% in forty years.

YEAR	POPULATION
1901	37,234,027 (including Kathiawar)
1911	36,340,856 (excluding Kathiawar)
1921	38,915,402 (" ")
1931	43,042,660 (" ")
1941	54,961,104 (including Kathiawar)

It should be noted, however, that though this growth is mostly due to natural causes it is partly the result of the incorporation of some new tracts in Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Balochistan—tracts which before 1901 were outside the limits of the British Indian Empire and therefore outside those of the above-mentioned provinces of Pakistan.

Density of the Population:—It is a well-known fact that, like most countries of Dinia and Asia, Pakistan is not a very thickly populated country. On the contrary, it is rather thinly populated and the density of population works out no higher than 109 persons per square mile, though in some parts it is much greater than that. Thus, in the Delhi Division it is 1,600 persons per square mile, in the Panjab 248, and in Afghanistan 138.

How this compares with other countries may be realised from the fact that Iran has only 23 persons to the square mile, Egypt 44, and Turkey 52; while Spain has 127, France 197, Italy 343, Germany 360, and England and Wales 710.

In view of its actual and potential resources, with which we have already dealt, it is reasonable to say that within its present limits Pakistan can feed and sustain a population of at least 100,000,000; and, what is more, when released from the crushing yoke of "Indianism" imposed upon it by the British-Bania Alliance, it is confident of touching that figure and of being the greatest Muslim country in the world.

Distribution of the Population:—Unlike many countries of Europe, Pakistan is broadly speaking a rural country. In fact, the distribution of population between town and country is so markedly in favour of the latter that Pakistan may be called a land of villages, settlements, and hamlets, wherein live about seventy-five per cent. of its people.

It has only thirteen cities with a population of over 100,000 each, and 520 towns of over 5,000 and under 100,000 each.

Migration:—Migration is a factor which cannot be ignored in any statement on the population of a country like Pakistan, whose people are by faith opposed to the idea of earth-rootedness and are enterprising enough to seek, if necessary, their future outside its frontiers.

The result is that today quite substantial colonies of Paks are found in many foreign lands, including Rajistan, Hindoostan, Bangistan, Mahrashtrar, Osmanistan, Ceylon,

Burma, China, Straits-Settlements, Borneo, Australia, South Africa, Uganda, and Canada. It is unfortunate that at present no reliable statistics are available about the numerical strength of these colonies; but it is estimated that the total is over half a million.

Religious Distribution:—While the religion of a great majority of the people of Pakistan is Islam, some communities among them profess other faiths, such as Caste Hindooism, Akhootism, and Sikhism.

The table below shows the relative numerical strength of the non-Muslim communities in the population of Pakistan:—

NUMERICAL POSITION OF NON-MUSLIM COMMUNITIES
IN PAKISTAN

COMMUNITY	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
1. Caste Hindoo	10,989,043	19.98%
2. Akhoot	2,598,384	4.72%
3. Sikh	5,303,735	9.64%
4. Christian	573,901	1.04%
5. Jain	129,297	0.23%
6. Buddhist	41,836	0.07%
7. Parsee	8,631	0.16%

Before we take leave of the subject, we must warn the reader that as the census is mostly conducted by the partisans of "Indianism," who are past-masters in the manipulation of facts and figures to their own advantage, the accuracy of the above-mentioned statistics cannot be guaranteed.

CHAPTER XII

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

We all know that the symbols of a nation embody its mind and soul. They spell its principle and purpose in life; they define its tradition and distinction in the world. In other words, they speak of its heritage and history, and stand for its hopes and destiny. That is why all great nations cherish them, make sure of their security, and work for their supremacy in the world.

Like other nations, the Paks have their own national symbols—symbols which, in origin, are the gift of Islam; which, in age, are thirteen centuries old; and which, in content, are absolutely different from those of the Caste Hindoos who live in some of the other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

These symbols now, as ever, proclaim the dedication of the Paks to the message and mission of Islam; and they ensure their national integrity and honour in the comity of nations. In doing that they rank them with the great nations of the world, revivify their confidence in their future, and inspire them to recover their freedom in Pakistan.

The most outstanding among such symbols of Pakistan are its Faith and Flag; its calendar and festivals, its language and laws, its code of honour and courtesies-titles, to each of which we shall briefly refer in the following paragraphs.

The National Faith:—To the Paks, the Faith of Islam is the eternal symbol of symbols. It is the spark of their life. It enkindles their soul and their being; it keeps them as a nation and guides them as *mujahids* towards their cherished goal in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Let no one be surprised at this rôle of Islam. It is natural; for, unlike most other religions, Islam is a civic religion. In

other words, it is both a religion and a polity; and as such it promotes not only the spiritual welfare of its followers but also their social and material progress, their national and international solidarity, and their fundamental re-construction of the world.

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that, at least as far as the essentials of life are concerned, Islam does for the Paks what both religion and legislature do for non-Muslim nations. It accomplishes this by providing them with an ideal basis of life and a complete code of conduct. That is, a basis and a code the essential soundness of which is clear from the fact that on them in the past were built a civilization and a supremacy whose splendour surprised the world. Not only that. On them at present there is being built in Pakistan a new greatness which is destined to eclipse even the past achievements of the Paks, glorious as they were, and to save Dinia from the abyss towards which it is heading.

It will therefore be understood that to the Paks, as to other members of the Fraternity, Islam constitutes—and will ever constitute—the eternal and all-embracing symbol of their nation in Pakistan.

The National Flag:—If there is one loyalty in the world to which all the citizens of a country subscribe, regardless of their creed or community, it is loyalty to their national flag. This has been so all through the ages and will be so for all time to come. For, the flag is the abiding emblem of the life and liberty of a nation and as such it has received and will always receive universal allegiance. This means that, as in the past so in the future, people will honour it and will pledge their lives to keep it inviolate at all times, at all costs, and in all circumstances.

Like other nations, Pakistan has—and always has had—its own national flag. In fact this flag is one of the most ancient and honoured in the world. It has, throughout the past thirteen centuries, been identified with the noblest code of

chivalry and consecrated with the highest deeds of heroism known to humanity.

In its present form the national flag of Pakistan is a green oblong with a white Crescent and Five Stars in the centre. The green in the background, the traditional colour of Islam, and the Crescent in the centre, the historic symbol of Islam, together portray the Fraternity; and the Stars, a sign akin to the symbol of the Crescent, register the historic regions of Pakistan—regions which to-day are split into many lands, provinces and principalities; but which, under the Flag, are destined to be so reintegrated as to re-create our old unified and compact Fatherland.

It will therefore be seen that, in its folds, the Pak Flag stands for the ideology of the people of Pakistan, which I have expressed in the trilogy of the Faith, the Fraternity, and the Fatherland. That is, the ideology which in scope extends beyond the present frontiers of Pakistan; which, in sweep, embraces the world of Islam; and which, in spirit, envisages the salvation of mankind through Islam.

It is true that, in its present form, the Flag is only fourteen years old, having been designed by me in 1933. But, even so, students of heraldry and history know that, though different in form, it is in meaning and message the same as the old Flag which for centuries flew over the homeland of the nation and its Imperial Commonwealth in the Continent of Dinia, over its world-famous capitals of Ghazni and Kabul, of Agra and Delhi, and over its historic battlefields of Panipat and Fatihtpur Sikri, of Plassey and Serangapatam. So it is the flag for whose honour millions of Paks have fought and died since 638; and under whose protection the peoples and lands of Dinia flourished till 1857.

The National Calendar:—The calendar is not merely a system of reckoning time. It is much more than that. It is a system of commemorating, in the spiritual domain, the revelation to mankind of a new religion; and, in the historical field, the introduction in the world of a new social

and political Order. So, in fact, it is a sign of the continuity of the life of a religious fraternity or of a social and political revolution which is of profound and permanent significance.

The national calendar of Pakistan is the Islamic Calendar used by the whole Muslim Fraternity. It symbolizes both the rise of our great religion and the start of our great revolution; and it stands for our divine dynamic Order which is at once spiritual and secular. It commemorates the Hijrat (migration) of the Rasool from Makkah to Madinah—an event which heralded the success of Islam, the birth of the Islamic Era, and the dawn of the Islamic civilization and supremacy in the world.

This calendar dates from Friday, 15th July, 622 A.D. In contrast with the Julian Calendar, which follows the solar system, it follows the lunar system. Its year, which has 354 or 355 days, is made up of the following twelve months:—

Muharram, Safar, Rabi I, Rabi II, Jamadi I, Jamadi II, Rajab, Shabaan, Ramzan, Shawwal, Zulqaada, and Zulhaj. Each of the months begins on the evening of the appearance of the Crescent, which counts as the first of the month.

These months contain in "alternate sequence twenty-nine or thirty days, with the intercalation of one day at the end of the twelfth month at stated intervals in each cycle of thirty years; the object of the intercalation being to reconcile the date of the first of the month with the date of the actual New Moon. So in each cycle of thirty years, nineteen are *common* and contain 354 days and eleven are intercalary [and contain] 355 days, the latter being called *kabisah* (years).

"The mean length of the *Hijra* year is 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, and the period of mean lunation is 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes."

The National Festivals:—The festivals and feasts of a nation, whether associated with cheers or with tears, all mark the anniversaries of the most important events in its life. In doing

this they serve as reminders of its past, as revivers of its present, and as inspirers of its future. That is why they are celebrated by the people in a spirit of remembrance and rededication.

In common with the rest of the Muslim world to which it belongs, Pakistan celebrates the following Islamic festivals: The *Id-ul-Zuha*, *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Shab-i-Barat*, *Bara Wafat*, *Akhri Chahar Shamba*, and *Ashura*.

The *Id-ul-Zuha*, "sacrificial festival," also called *Id-ul-Qurban*, *Id-ul-Akbar*, *Id-ul-Nehar* and *Buyuk-Bairam*, commemorates Hazrat Ibrahim's devotional offer to sacrifice the object dearest to him, his son, Hazrat Ismail, on Mount Mina. It lasts from the 8th to the 10th of Zulhaj, and is celebrated with prayers, *Qurbani*, and meetings on the 10th—the day on which the *Hajis* (pilgrims) sacrifice in the Valley of Mina. The period of actual *Qurbani*, i.e. sacrifice, "begins with the *Salat-ul-Id* and ends with the sunset on the 3rd of the *Aiyam-ul-Tashrik*."

The *Id-ul-Fitr*, "festival of breaking the fast," also called *Id-ul-Asghar*, *Kuck-Bairam*, or *Sheker-Bairam*, denotes the end of Ramzan, the month of fast, and is celebrated on the first of Shawwal with prayers and religious meetings. In fact its "celebration is marked with much more festivity and rejoicing" than the *Id-ul-Zuha*.

The *Shab-i-Barat*, "the Night of the Decree," which is also called *Lailat-al-Barat*, "Night of Quittancy," falls on the 14th day of Shaaban. As its name denotes, it is observed as a sacred night when Allah dispenses forgiveness and grants prayers of mortals. It is also devoted to remembrance of the dead, when people clean tombs, offer prayers for the souls of the dead, and give food to the poor.

The *Bara Wafat*, "Death on the 12th," is observed on the 12th day of Rabi I. It commemorates the *wasal* (death) of the Rasool of Allah; but in some parts of the Muslim world

it is also celebrated as "*Maulud-un-Nabi*"—the Birthday of the Rasool.

The *Akhri Chahar Shamba*—literally "the last Wednesday"—of the month of Safar is observed as the day on which the Rasool had "the bath of recovery" from his serious illness.

The *Ashura*—"the period of ten days"—is also called Muharram, because it covers the first ten days of the month of Muharram. It commemorates the Martyrdom which is at once the greatest tragedy and the greatest triumph in the history of Islam. It is a tragedy because of the most poignant circumstances in which the grandson of the Rasool, fell fighting against Yazid; and it is a triumph because of the moral victory of Islam over the evil forces represented by Yazid, against whom Hazrat Imam Husain with his family and followers made a supreme stand and thereby set for Muslims an example which, if truly followed by them, would ensure their supremacy in this world and their salvation in the next.

The first nine days of the *Ashura* are observed as the days of mourning, pre-eminently so by the Shias; but the tenth day is observed by the whole Fraternity. On this day, while the Shias take out *Taboots*, also called *Taziyas*, in great processions, commemorating the Great Martyr and reciting the poignant events of the epic of Karbala; others hold meetings to honour his memory, to cherish his heroism, and to stress the lesson of his sacrifice in the service of Allah, the Rasool, and Islam.

The National Language:—To say that language is to a nation what articulation is to an individual is to state a commonplace; but it is a commonplace which best expresses the importance of language. It sums up the truth that language is "the depository of the accumulated body of experience to which all former ages have contributed their part, and which is the inheritance of all yet to come." In other words, it is a storehouse which contains the precious ideas and ideals of a people, which passes them to the world, and which preserves

them for posterity. Obviously, therefore, language constitutes one of the most precious symbols of a nation—and of none more so than the Paks. For they are the bearers of a Mission in the fulfilment of which lies the salvation of all Dinia—and the world.

The national language of Pakistan is Pak, which is known to the older generation as Urdu. It is written in what is called the Persian form of Arabic script.

It is the youngest and one of the most virile members of the family of languages, and though evolved by the Millat from Arabic, Persian, and Turkish only during the past three centuries, it has made wonderful progress and developed into a fine means of expression. It possesses a literature—religious and philosophical, political and scientific—which not only compares with the best literatures of the East, but also claims a place in history as a great contribution of the Paks to the intellectual wealth of mankind.

Pak is used over a much wider area than Pakistan. For one thing it is also the language of the Pak Millat living in Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan. For another thing, thanks to its sweetness of phrase and sweep of expression, its richness of thought and sense of logic, it is the most widely spoken language in the Continent of Dinia. It is, in fact, the *lingua franca* of the whole Cultural Orbit of Pakasia and one of the most extensively understood languages in the neighbouring Continent of Asia.

Of course, apart from Pak, the classical languages of Pakistan are Arabic and Persian. The former, which is its sacred language, contains its religious and inspirational literature; and the latter, which is its artistic and interpretational language, contains its mystic and philosophical literature as well as its epic and classical poetry. That is why the study of Arabic and Persian is traditional in Pakistan. In fact, now

as ever, it forms part of the basic instruction of the people, for whom proficiency in one, if not in both, of these languages is considered an essential mark of personal accomplishment, of national culture, and of fraternal outlook and idealism.

The National Laws:—Although the basic aim of the laws of all civilized nations is to ensure "the safety of citizens and preservation of states," yet it is a fact that this aim is achieved by different nations in different ways. This is natural; for the laws of each nation spring from its religion, its polity, and its history, and therefore possess an individual national character which distinguishes them from those of other nations.

Now, so far as Pakistan is concerned, its national laws are Muslim laws, whose science is called *Fiqh*, which has for its sources the *Quran* (the Holy Book), the *Hadees* (the Traditions), the *Ijmaa* (the Concensus), and the *Rai* (the Opinion). From these sources, Muslim jurisconsults have, in the course of centuries, evolved a comprehensive legal system which is known as the "*Sharia*"—a word of which the nearest, though by no means an adequate, translation is the "Sacred Law." It is needless to add that to the making of this system have gone a "technical vocabulary of great wealth and precision, and a vast literature."

The *Sharia* has two distinctive features which are unique in the legal world and of which the Paks, like the rest of the Fraternity, are justly proud. First, it is the only system of law in which sovereignty belongs only to Allah, and human allegiance is therefore due only to Him; and secondly, it is not, in the conventional European sense, a collection of "commands enforced by the sanction of the State." On the contrary, it is a system in which such commands are only an element and which is "concerned first and last with the relation between God and the human soul." In other words it is the only system in the world the "paramount consideration" of which is not the state, but the individual and his well-being.

It must be noted that at present most of the national laws of Pakistan, both civil and international, are in abeyance. In fact, since the fall of the country in 1857, they have been superseded by British Indian laws, except for what are called the personal laws of marriage, succession, inheritance, and guardianship, which have continued in force.

However the time is not far off when the national laws will be re-enforced in full and re-administered by the courts of the country.

The National Code of Honour:—The code of honour of a nation is one of its most precious assets. It represents the essence of its moral values and of its social customs which command universal allegiance. That is why it is so strongly supported by public opinion that no member can violate it without incurring general censure.

The code of honour of the Paks is one of the highest in the world. It comprises all those virtues and values which claim the eternal homage of mankind, and which are *Izzat* (honour); *Azadi* (freedom); *Bahaduri* (bravery); *Wafa* (faithfulness); *Panah* (protection of the weak); and *Tawazo* (hospitality).

The word *Izzat* calls for a brief explanation. It is a versatile word and therefore not easy to translate into English. It comprehends the conceptions of self-respect and pride, of good name and reputation. So, in its primary sense, it signifies to the Paks what the word "honour" does to the Europeans and the word "face" to the Chinese and Japanese.

The National Courtesy-Titles:—The courtesy-titles of a nation have been called "the sweet scented blossoms" of its social history. And no wonder. For they embody the essence of the ideas of social dignity of a people and symbolize their moral and cultural accomplishments.

The Paks have a proud national courtesy-title. This title is "*Khan*"—an ancient honorific which has been immortalized by poets, ennobled by kings, and honoured by the world. It

is used by the people irrespective of the clan titles, some of which are still popular. Literally meaning "lord" and usually written in the abbreviated form "Kh.," it is prefixed to the name of a man not holding the religious title of *Maulana* or *Maulvi*. Its feminine is "Khanum" (abbreviated "Khm."), which is used for a married woman. Its other forms are "Khanzada" (abbreviated "Kha.") for a son or boy, and "Khanzadi" (abbreviated "Khi.") for a daughter or girl.

It should be pointed out that these titles are not used by the minorities like the Caste Hindoos and the Sikhs, who still prefer to use their own titles. Among the Caste Hindoos, the title varies according to the caste of the individual; and among the Sikhs it is "*Sardar*," a Pak word meaning "leader."

CHAPTER XIII

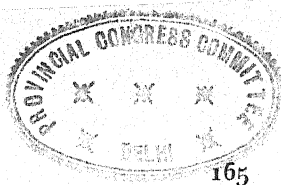
NATIONAL SHRINES

Pakistan is dotted with shrines and these form part of its national patrimony. For in them lie buried its saints and sages, its *mujahids* and missionaries, who devoted their lives to spreading the message of Allah; and who, by their inspiration and action, converted to Islam *lacs* of people, improved the lives of the Paks, and enhanced the prestige of their Fatherland.

These shrines are venerated by the people. They are not worshipped by them, as some non-Muslims have suggested; for, in Islam and with Muslims worship is due only to Allah. So, it is in a spirit of veneration that on the anniversaries of the saints' deaths *Urses* are held at their shrines to honour their memory, to explain their work, and to exhort their votaries to carry it forward. For it is realized by all that only the continuance of this work can ensure the fulfilment of the mission of Islam in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

There are at least two hundred such shrines in Pakistan and it is obvious that, in a short chapter like this, they cannot all be described. So here we shall refer to only a few of those shrines which are found in some of the chief cities and religious centres of the country.

Among the more outstanding shrines, and itself the oldest in Delhi, is that of *Hazrat Khawaja Qutab-ul-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki*, who lived in the reign of Sultan Shams-ul-Din Iltamash, and preached Islam in the capital of the Empire. He was the forerunner of a long line of saints for whose work he was destined to prepare the ground. It is needless to add that his successors have been true to his example and have carried on his mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.



The shrine stands to the south of the Qutab Minar in Mehrauli, a suburb of Delhi; and there is attached to it a beautiful mosque, *Moti Masjid*, which was built by Bahadur Shah I. On the south of the Mosque is a graveyard wherein lie buried, among their princes and nobles, three emperors of Pakistan—Bahadur Shah I, Shah Alam, and Akbar Shah II.

The most remarkable, though, of the shrines in Delhi is that of *Hazrat Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ali al-Bukhari*, who is popularly known as *Hazrat Khawaja Nizam-ul-Din Auliya*. He was born at Badaun in 1238; but, after completing his studies, he settled at Ghiyaspur, near Delhi. It was in this small village, now known as Auliya-ki-Basti, that he accomplished his memorable work for Islam and he died there in 1325.

In Pakistan as in the rest of the Continent of Dinia he is universally revered as *Sultan-al-Auliya*, "the king of the saints," and as *Mahbub Ilahi*, "the beloved of Allah." In fact he was great not only as a saint but also as a scholar and some idea of his learning may be gathered from the fact that "he was as proficient in mysticism as he was in *Hadees* (Traditions), *Tafsir* (Commentary on the Quran), and literature." His works include *Fawa'id-al-Fuad* and *Rahat-al-Muhibbin*, which contain his utterances and discourses on various subjects pertaining to Islam.

On his death he left behind him a band of devoted disciples including *Hazrat Nasir-ul-Din Muhammad*, better known as *Roshan Chiragh*—the Bright Lamp. These disciples constituted themselves into an *Idara* which generation after generation has carried on the mission of the Auliya.

The shrine, which stands to the west of Emperor Humayoun's mausoleum, was built by Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who was a great votary of the Auliya; and it is visited by innumerable people from all parts of the Continent of Dinia. In the courtyard of the shrine are many buildings, including a splendid mosque, a beautiful *Jamaat Khana*, and a "finely proportioned" *Chausath Khambe* or Hall of Sixty-Four Pillars,

which was built by Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Kokiltash—the distinguished general of Akbar and a fearless critic of his *Din-i-Ilahi*.

Near the shrine are buried many members of the last Pak Imperial dynasty. They all lie "each in his own little enclosure, surrounded by elegant lattice-work of white marble." In striking contrast to their impressive tombs, there is, in the same compound, the plain grave of Princess Jahanara Begum, bearing the touching and instructive inscription:—"Let nothing but grass cover my grave; for that is the covering meet for the lowly."

The shrine of *Hazrat Shaikh Ahmad al-Faruqi*, better known as *Al-Mujaddid Alf-Sani*, is at Sarhind, Patiala State, Panjab—that historic town which owes its fame as a spiritual centre to the great saint and his family.

The shrine occupies a very high place among the *mazars* of Pakistan. It is held in great veneration by the people and is visited by them from all parts of the country. In fact its appeal goes further than present-day Pakistan and it has the special allegiance of the royalty of Kabul, Afghanistan, one of whose members—Shah Shujaa—is also buried there.

Near the shrine is the tomb of *Hazrat Shaikh Rafi-ul-Din*—an ancestor of *Al-Mujaddid* and founder of the present-day Sarhind—and that of *Hazrat Khawaja Masoom*, son of *Al-Mujaddid*.

The famous shrine of *Hazrat Ali Makhdoom Hujwari*, popularly known as *Data Ganj Bakhsh*, stands outside the Bhati Gate, Lahore City, Panjab. It was originally constructed by Sultan Ibrahim; but since then great improvements and additions have been made to it, especially by Emperor Akbar, while a beautiful mosque was recently erected by Choudhary Ghulam Rasool, a votary of Data Sahib.

This saint came to Lahore in 1039 and after serving the sacred cause for over thirty years died there in 1072. He was a man of great spiritual power and vast learning and as such was revered by princes and peasants alike. He wrote many books on theology, all of which bear eloquent testimony to his great erudition and constitute a model of exposition of the basic principles of Islam.

Naturally his shrine has always commanded universal veneration and throughout the centuries it has been visited by *pirs* and people from all over the Continent. Some idea of the respect in which it is held in circles of the saints themselves may be gathered from the fact that even *Hazrat Khawaja Muin-ul-Din Chishti*, the celebrated saint of Ajmer, Muinistan, himself came to pay homage to it. He spent there a *chillah* (forty days) in devotion and meditation and at the end of this period he was so "deeply affected by the graces showered upon him at this holy place," that, to express his feeling of gratitude, he stood reverently bowing at the foot of the shrine, and recited a Persian couplet which has since been recited by millions to pay their homage to Data Sahib. Translated into English it reads:—

"Thou art the bestower of treasure in both worlds;
thou art the reflector of the splendour of Allah; thou
art a perfect *Pir* for the learned and a guide for the
ignorant."

The shrine of *Hazrat Shaikh Mir Muhammad*, better known as *Mian Mir Sahib*, is in the Lahore cantonment. It is "a handsome building of white marble and red Agra sandstone," and it is held in high esteem by the people.

Mian Sahib was a man of great piety and from him the high and the low benefited alike and to him all rendered their homage. He was greatly respected by the royal family of Delhi, many members of which were attached to him. Emperor Shah Jahan himself paid him several visits and sought his blessings, while Prince Dara Shikoh was his *mureed*.

The shrine of *Hazrat Shaikh Fareed-ul-Din Masud*, "Shakar Ganj," popularly known as *Baba Fareed Sahib*, is in the ancient historic town of Pakpattan, Montgomery District, Panjab.

The saint lived from 1173 to 1265, and has always been acknowledged as one of the greatest savants of Islam. He is respected as such throughout the Muslim world and so great has been the appeal of his name and fame that his shrine was reverently visited by Ibn Battutah of Tangier in 1334 and by Ameer Taimour in 1398 who "out of respect for the shrine" treated the inhabitants of Pakpattan with marked kindness.

It may be said that this was centuries ago; but time has made no difference to the spell of the shrine. It still attracts *lacs* of visitors, who come not only from the Continent of Dinia but also from most of the Muslim countries of the Continent of Asia.

The shrine of *Hazrat Qureishi Baha-ul-Din Zikariya*, better known as *Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ul-Haqq*, stands on the northern edge of the fort of Multan, Panjab. It is a beautiful piece of architecture and it receives the homage of people from all parts of the country.

The saint was born at Kot Karor in 1169 and died at Multan in 1266. He completed his studies in Iran and Turan, then visited many countries, and finally started his mission in Multan. His piety and learning won the hearts of the people, thousands of whom turned to him for enlightenment and instruction. This was natural; for he was everywhere admitted to be a great spiritual leader. Five centuries have gone by since his death but the popular respect and reverence for him remain as deep as ever and to this day he is reckoned among the greatest savants of Islam in the Continent of Dinia.

Among other great shrines of Multan must be mentioned that of *Hazrat Saiyyid Muhammad Yoosaf Gardezi*. It is "a rectangular dome-building" of great beauty, standing near the

Bohar Gate in the city; and it is respected by all classes of people throughout the country.

Hazrat Gardezi Sahib was a descendant of Hazrat Imam Hassan, the grandson of the Rasool, and he lived up to the tradition of his great ancestor. He was born in 1058 at Gardez near Ghazni, Afghanistan, and even in his childhood was absorbed in the study of religious literature. On completing his education at Gardez, he came to Multan, and started his mission there to propagate Islam. To the service of that mission, he gave his whole life and learning—a life so pious and so inspiring as to have an irresistible appeal to the people; and a learning so vast and versatile as to convince and convert even the blind and bigoted among them. It is no wonder that he succeeded in his mission and thereby rendered invaluable service to the people of Pakistan.

At Uch, Bahawalpur State, Panjab, is the shrine of *Hazrat Makhdoom Sher Shah Saiyyid Jalal-ud-Din "Surkh-posh" Bukhari*. It is a shrine which is highly esteemed by the people and is visited by them in their thousands, especially on the occasion of *Urs*.

Revered both as a scholar and as a spiritual leader, Makhdoom Sahib lived for the service of Islam and his fellow men. It is no wonder therefore that princes and peasants alike sought his blessings and waited upon him for spiritual guidance, which they received in a generous measure. He helped Muslims as much as he did non-Muslims and brought to the fold of Islam thousands of people including Princess Sundarpari, the daughter of the ruler of Uch, then known as Deogarh. It is recorded that on her acceptance of Islam he appointed her governor of Uch, and ordered her to rule according to the laws of Islam, an order which she carried out like a true Muslimah.

The other famous shrine at Uch is that of *Hazrat Saiyyid Bandagi-Muhammad Ghaus Gilani*, who was a descendant of

Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani of Baghdad and who renewed in Pakistan the tradition and teachings of his illustrious ancestor.

The saint visited many countries before coming to Uch in 1509, where he founded Uch Gilani and set up his mission to preach Islam. He was universally respected as a man of great spiritual power and accepted as their *Pir* by kings and nobles as well as by *lacs* of common people, on whose lives his influence was wonderful.

Thanks to the inspiration and activities of these saints and their successors, Uch itself became for centuries a great centre of learning. It possessed many educational institutions, the best known of which was the Firozi College, which at one time had for its principal Allama Minhaj-ud-Din, the well-known Irani historian.

The celebrated shrine of *Hazrat Mian Muhammad Omar Sahib* is at Chamkani in Afghanistan, where it is highly esteemed by all classes of people. The Mian Sahib lived during the memorable reign of Ahmad Shah Abdali and exerted great influence on the events of his time. Not only that. Through his piety and learning he rendered lasting service to the cause of Islam in Afghanistan, enriching the lives of the people, directing their activities into fraternal channels, and welding them into a great force for the good of the Fraternity.

To the shrine are attached beautiful mosques and buildings as well as landed property, the income from which is spent on promoting the causes which were near and dear to Mian Sahib's heart.

The far-famed shrine of *Hazrat Pir Pagaro* is at Pir-jo-goth, about twelve miles south of Rohri, District Sukkur, Sindh. It is a shrine visited by rich and poor alike, and venerated by *lacs* of people. This is natural; for it represents a *gaddi* of *Pirs*, which is one of the most influential in Pakistan, indeed in the whole Continent of Dinia.

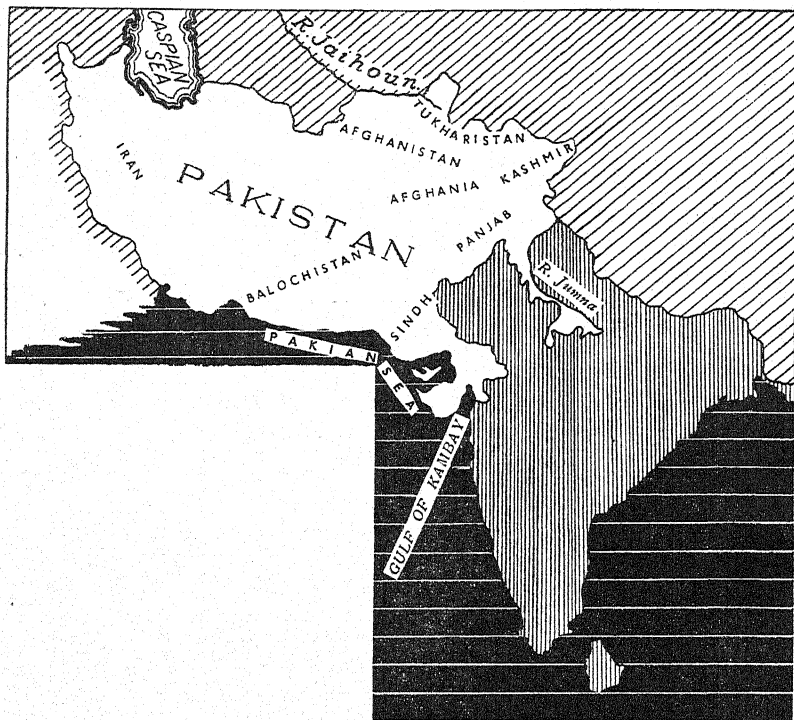
It is a well-known fact that ever since the foundation of the *gaddi* centuries ago, the successors of the great saint as well as his followers, especially the Hurs, have worked and suffered so devotedly for the cause of Islam as to win the admiration of the Millat throughout Dinia.

Among other venerated shrines in Sindh must be mentioned that of *Hazrat Saiyyid Osman Marwandi*, who is popularly known as Lal Shahbaz Qalandari. It is situated at the historic town of Sehwan and it attracts visitors from all parts of the country.

Saiyyid Sahib was a man of deep learning and piety and he let nothing distract him from his religious work. In fact, like so many other saints of Pakistan, he declined high offices which were offered to him by the rulers of the country and devoted himself instead to the teaching and service of Islam. Naturally he had great influence on the people and won the allegiance of thousands of them in Sindh and the Panjab.

In addition to these we must note the shrines of Hazrat Makhdoom Sahib, Pir Dastgir, and Pir Naqshbandi in Srinagar in the Province of Kashmir; and of Pir Chhatta in Jhalawan Division (Qalat), Pir Shah Muhammad in the Lora District, and Khawaja Amran Baba and Pir Abdul Hakim in the Quetta-Pishin District of Balochistan. It is needless to add that, like other shrines, all of these enjoy the respect and reverence of the people.

PAKISTAN AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY



CHAPTER XIV

NATIONAL STORY

It is important to remind the reader at the outset that the history of Pakistan is not that of a country which will some day be carved out of "India." On the contrary, it is the history of a country which, though at present incorporated in India, has always existed in its own right, and on whose life seventy centuries look down from the lofty peaks of the Jabaliya and the legendary passes of the Khaibar; and to whose future no human power can set any limits. Again, the history of Pakistan is not the history of only its own territory; it is, in a very real sense, that of the whole Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. For, thanks to the sterling qualities of its people, Pakistan has throughout the ages controlled the events and moulded the institutions in the other lands of Dinia.

It will therefore be understood that, in a short chapter like this, one cannot furnish even an outline of the ideas and events, of the struggles and sacrifices that have gone to the making of Pakistan. The best one can do is to give just a glimpse of some of the most famous episodes of its history. That is, the episodes which recall the most important stages in its development, register its position in the comity of nations, and reiterate its resolve to serve and save the human family through the message of Islam.

Pre-History:—Now if, bearing this limitation in mind, we turn our gaze to the immemorial past of Pakistan, we shall see that, in the remote times of Man's first known activities on this planet, Pakistan, as already mentioned, was one of the three civilized regions of the globe—the other two being Iraq and Egypt.

This fact stands out prominently against the dim background of that still ill-defined period in the growth of the human race. It shows that, in pre-history, Pakistan was one

of the lands where civilization was born; where Man made his first attempts at courting Nature for his subsistence; and where he achieved his first successes in his elemental struggle for life.

How did the people of Pakistan live in that remote Stone Age, some seven thousand years ago?

The evidence that has come down to us shows that, in the Stone Age, while most of the human race was eking out a primitive, precarious nomad existence, the Paks were leading a settled and constructive life. They were advanced enough to make pottery and stone tools, to till the soil and raise crops, to weld themselves into small communities and achieve that first stage of civilization which history associates with the origin and development of agriculture.

Then, in the Copper Age, which followed in the fourth millenium B.C., we find that Pakistan was still progressing and keeping its place as one of the three advanced centres of civilization. Agriculture and farming were now becoming the normal occupation of its people; and trade, commerce, and transport were being developed. The people were leading a communal life and often living in well-planned towns and cities, some of which had solid two-storied houses.

At the Dawn of History:—The end of the Copper Age ushered in the Iron Age, which saw the dawn of history. This again found the people of Pakistan in the vanguard of civilization. By now they had learnt the use of metal and were exploiting the natural resources of their land with sharper tools and better skill. In fact, the discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa show that, before the end of this Age, they had attained a high standard of life and had become the most progressive people in the world.

This is hardly surprising when we know that in this Age they lived in villages, towns, and cities provided with decent amenities, including public baths; aided agriculture by irrigation; and raised crops of wheat, barley, and dates. Further-

more, they domesticated such animals as buffaloes and sheep, and used them for food and tillage. They traded far afield and for this purpose used currency. They made jewellery, for which they had "skilled workers in gold, silver, and ivory." Finally, they organized the defence of their country and trained and maintained warriors who "took field with bows, spears, axes, and daggers."

It is universally admitted that this early civilization of Pakistan "reached its height between about 3250 and 2750 B.C." That is, between the end of pre-history and the beginning of recorded history. It is therefore clear that it had nothing to do with the Aryans or Caste Hindoos; since they did not appear in Pakistan or, for that matter, in Dinia itself for another 1,500 years.

Now, as has so often happened in history, this position of Pakistan excited the cupidity of others, who, to deprive it of its riches and resources, set out to enslave its people. Inevitably, in doing so they involved it in a prolonged life and death struggle and filled centuries of its history with convulsions.

The worst of these convulsions was caused by the Caste Hindoos who, to satisfy their greed, invaded the country about 1500 B.C. The Paks defended themselves bravely against this unprovoked and premeditated aggression; but owing to the superior numbers of the invaders, they were gradually worn down and ultimately overwhelmed. This defeat, suffered as it was after so protracted a struggle, crippled the country and enabled the Caste Hindoos to occupy it for centuries.

History has shown that this occupation was the worst calamity that ever befell the people of Pakistan. The Caste Hindoos broke up their civilization and blighted their institutions. Not only that. They divided them into castes, and exploited them ruthlessly. It is no wonder, therefore, that the occupation altered for centuries the course of their history.

However, the Caste Hindoo hegemony could not last for

ever. Its callousness led to its own undoing. It caused increasing popular revolt against itself. This revolt was not confined to Pakistan; it spread to other lands. Nor was it merely political: it was moral as well as national. Naturally, therefore, as time passed it grew in intensity and eventually burst out in a full scale offensive against the Caste Hindoos and forced them to retreat towards their present-day stronghold—Hindoostan—in the Gangetic Valley.

This military victory over Caste Hindooism had a sequel in the moral field. It found its historic expression in the birth of Buddhism in the 6th Century B.C. This new religion spread to Pakistan, among other countries, and grew into a serious—and for a period successful—challenge to the very basis of Caste Hindooism. In fact, it established its religious and political supremacy for about three centuries; but in the end its own spirit of renunciation made it “inert and powerless” and so gave an opportunity for the resurgence of Caste Hindooism; which suppressed it throughout the Continent of Dinia.

However, about two centuries after the rise of Buddhism came the invasion of Pakistan by Alexander in 326-325 B.C. True to their tradition, the people resisted him stubbornly, checked his advance, secured the evacuation of Pakistan and thereby saved other countries, including Hindoostan, from being overrun by him.

During the next thousand years between the invasion of Alexander and the advent of Islam, there followed in Pakistan a succession of political dominations, of which the most important were the Graeco-Syrian; the Mauryan, which extended far and wide under Asoka; the Graeco-Bactrian; the Parthian; the Scythian; the Gupta; the White Hun; and the Gujar.

It is remarkable that though each of these was powerful in its own day—particularly the Mauryan—none left any trace behind except the Gujar. For this is the only regime of which one is still reminded by the presence of some two million

Gujars in the country and by several centres like Gujrat, Gujranwala, Gojra, and Gujarwal in the Panjab, and the province of Gujrat near Kathiawar.

These dominations of the post-Alexander period were followed by a short spell of power for Caste Hindooism in certain parts of the country; but it is to the credit of the people that they never really submitted to it again and never accepted the old servitude which it offered them. On the contrary, they unceasingly resisted its rule and religion, fought for their national emancipation, and continued their quest for spiritual liberation.

From 638 to 1856. Man's extremity is Allah's opportunity. In their dire need, His providence came to the rescue of the Paks. It expressed itself, as it always does, in a divine event which was to bring succour to them. This event was none other than the appearance of Islam on the frontiers of Pakistan in the year 638 A.D., when Hazrat Osman was the Khalifa-tul-Muslimeen. It was looked upon by the people as a great deliverance and it was destined to be epoch-making. In fact, it ended one era in Pak history and opened another.

How Pakistan fared in this new era, and what it did to make the era one of progress and prosperity for itself and for its neighbours in the other lands of Dinia may be realized from the following paragraphs.

After 638, the people began to evince a deeper interest in Islam. They took to the study of its creed and showed understanding of its cause. They made contacts with Muslim countries and cultivated relations with them. In short, with every year that passed they increasingly turned towards Islam and attached themselves to its might and mission. The Balochis were the first to join the Fraternity and in the same year (645) they were followed by the Afghans. This auspicious development spread far and wide. It influenced all classes and so affected the masses that when Muslim forces, sent by Hazrat Khalifa Al-Walid b. Abdul Malik under Marshal

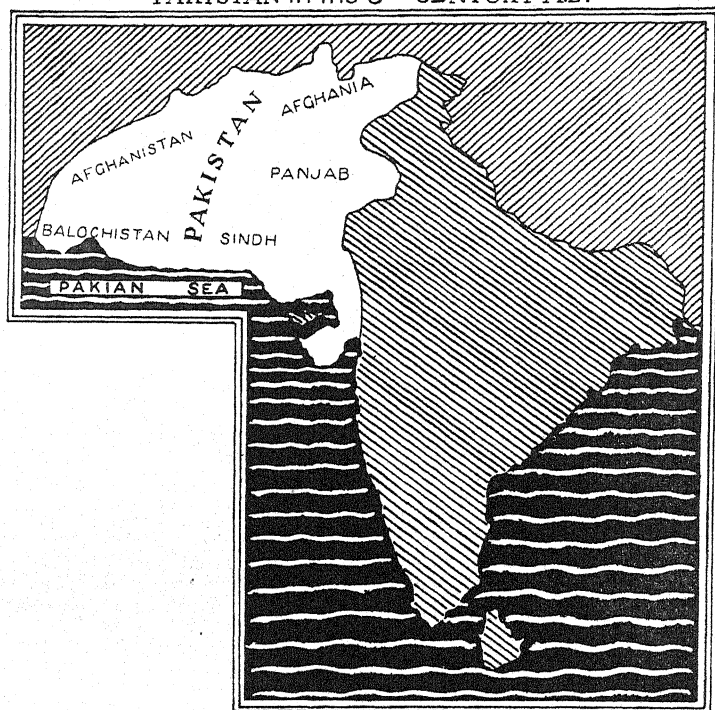
Muhammad Qasim, entered Pakistan in 711 to obtain reparations for the seizure of Muslim ships by the Caste Hindoo pirates at Daibal, they were welcomed as liberators. Not only that. A vast majority of the people, defying their Caste Hindoo rulers, fraternized with the Marshal's men and placed themselves under the Crescent and Stars. This was a true and touching expression of their abiding confidence in Muslims. Naturally it was fully reciprocated by Muslims, who, socially, treated the people as brethren; politically, gave them complete self-government; and, fraternally, welcomed them as equal members of the Fraternity.

Actions speak louder than words and deeds impress more deeply than phrases. The noble conduct of the Marshal and his men in 711 won the hearts of the people of Pakistan. It inspired them to embrace Islam, to seek their future in its service, and to spread its message throughout the Continent of Dinia. This led to their acceptance of and dedication to Islam and made Pakistan what it has been ever since and what it ever shall remain—a stronghold of Islam.

Since that time twelve centuries have gone by and, in the course of these centuries, Pakistan has known ten national *Hukumats* or sovereign regimes. It is true that each of these *Hukumats* was headed by a different tribe or dynasty of our people; but none was foreign. For whoever was the ruler, whichever was the dynasty in power, and whatever was the designation given to it by the so-called historians, one and all were Pak, devoted to the service of Pakistan and dedicated to its mission in Dinia.

Again, it is a fact that most of the *Hukumats* rose to power by defeating their predecessors; but in every case the struggle was a domestic affair between contestants belonging to our own people. The details of these struggles do not concern us here; nor does the rise of those regional states which were born of such struggles. It must suffice to record here that all such states, whatever their origin, were Pak and, as such, were

PAKISTAN in the 8th CENTURY A.D.



directly or indirectly connected with the Pak Central *Hukumats*.

The first of these *Hukumats* was the Qasimi, which was founded by Marshal Muhammad Qasim in 712. It covered a substantial part of present-day Pakistan and, roughly speaking, lasted till 1000 A.D. As it lit the beacon-fire of Islam in Dinia, it was obviously of the greatest importance to the whole future of our people, our country, and our cause. For under it was created the hard core of Pakistan; and by it were laid the foundations of the greatness of the Paks.

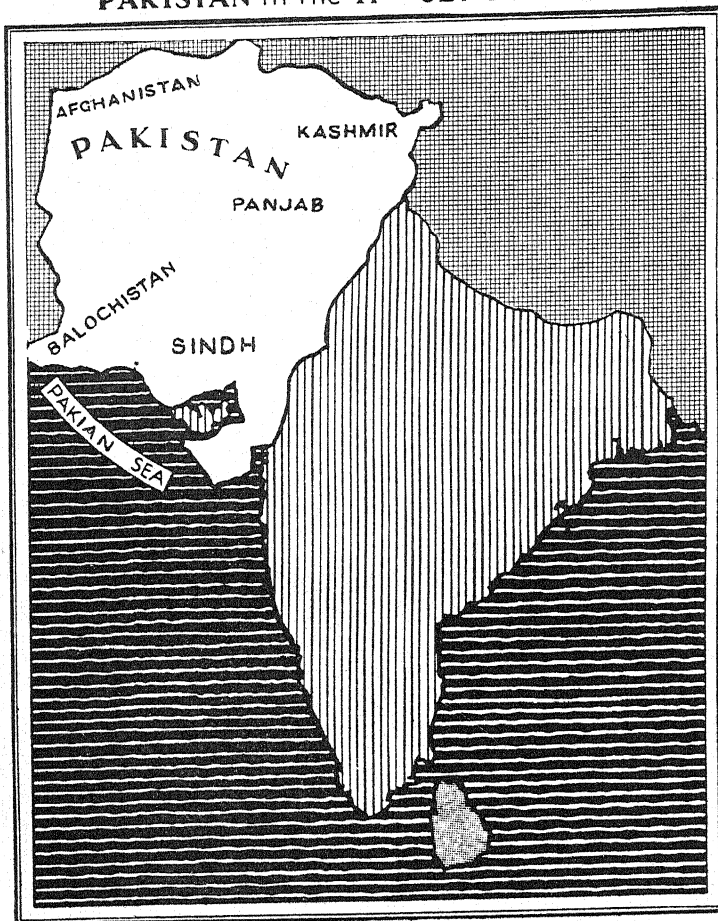
Now no nation has suffered so much from treachery as the Pak nation. Time and again its has been victimised by traitors and its triumphs turned into tragedies. One of such tragedies befell it soon after the liberation of Sindh and parts of the Panjab. The Marshal, the founder of the *Hukumat*, fell a victim to the foul intrigue of Janki, who was helped by the jealousy of his political rivals. He was recalled to the court of the Khalifa just when he was getting into his stride and contemplating a trial of strength with the Qannauj dynasty. On his arrival there he was arrested, imprisoned, and eventually executed. Thus was cut short a most promising career in the service of Islam and Pakistan.

The only consolation is that after his death his successors continued to consolidate his work by propagating Islam, improving the administration of the country, and enhancing the moral and material welfare of the people.

This *Hukumat* was succeeded by that of the Ghaznavis, which was founded by Sabuktigin in Afghanistan. To meet the challenge of the Caste Hindoo ambitions reasserted by Jaipal, it was extended from Afghanistan to other parts of Pakistan between 1001 and 1030, and it lasted till 1185.

The main credit for its expansion belongs to Mahmoud of Ghazni, who was "the most masterful personality" of his

PAKISTAN in the 11th CENTURY A.D.



time and whose achievements made the regime for ever memorable in the annals of Pakistan.

This was natural; for he was a man in whose bosom the flame of Islam burnt bright. It lit his whole being, gave him unbounded zeal for the service of Islam, and made him devote his rare gifts to the consolidation of Pakistan and the propagation of Islam in Dinia.

To realize these aims he undertook seventeen campaigns and carried the Crescent as far west as Somnath in Kathiawar-Gujrat, which to this day remains a city of Pakistan. As a result of these campaigns, he added to Pakistan not only the still outlying regions of the Panjab and Kashmir but also Gawaliar; and what is more, he established the prestige of the country throughout the Orient and made it for ever the citadel of our people, the base of our Imperial Commonwealth, and the centre of our mission in Dinia and its Dependencies.

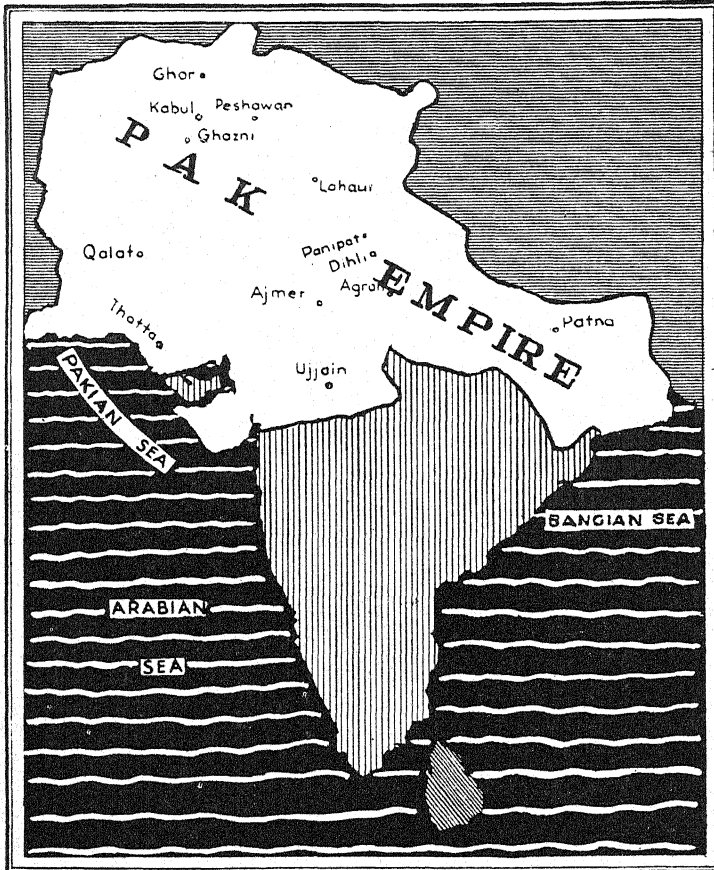
In doing this Mahmoud made a mighty contribution to our history. He enabled us to extend our sphere of activity to other lands of Dinia and to share with them the blessings of spiritual liberation, of moral enlightenment, and of social emancipation.

The first important step in this direction was taken by the next *Hukumat*, that of the Ghauris, which was founded by Sultan Muhammad of Ghaur in 1186 and which lasted till 1206. Though short-lived, it was a spirited regime; and, like the life of an individual, it must be judged not by its duration but by its deeds.

The bravery and devotion of Muhammad Shahab-ul-Din infused a dynamic spirit into this regime, and enabled it to seize the opportunity afforded by conditions in Dinia. In the space of twenty years it brought under the Crescent and Stars not only Delhi, Ajmer, and Benares, but also the provinces of Bihar and Bengal.

Thus the Ghauris extended Pak supremacy and civilization to the whole of North Dinia lying between the deltas of the

PAKISTAN in the 13th CENTURY A.D.



Mihran and the Ganges. They did more than that; for they were not the people to content themselves with mere conquests and annexations. To ensure the security of this vast territory and the welfare of its people, they placed all important regions under competent generals and charged them with the duty of establishing a better standard of government.

The good start made by the Ghauris in serving the other lands of Dinia was followed up by the Aibaki *Hukumat*, which was founded by Qutab-ul-Din Aibak in 1206 and which lasted till 1290.

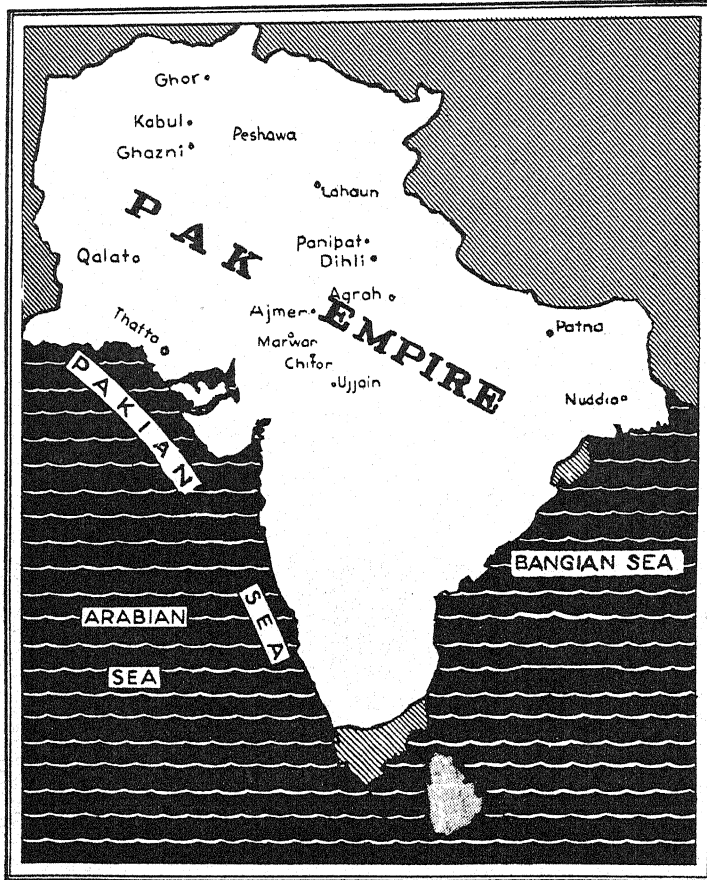
In the beginning, this regime had to face dangers from both inside and outside the country; but, thanks to its representatives like Iltamash and Raziya, it faced them successfully. It not only foiled the Caste Hindoo attempts to overthrow it but also extended its sway to several new regions, including Mewat, Malwa, and Bundhelkhand.

In the fraternal domain the success of the Aibakis was still more remarkable. For the first time in history, they received from the Khalifa-tul-Muslimeen at Baghdad the recognition of the Pak Commonwealth in Dinia as a separate sovereign state of the Fraternity. This recognition greatly enhanced the status of Pakistan and enabled the Paks to play a growing part in the world of Islam. It attracted to Delhi many princes, poets, and men of learning from Central Asia and made the capital one of the greatest centres of the Fraternity in the world.

The Aibaki *Hukumat* was succeeded by that of the Khiljis, which lasted from 1290 to 1320. It had only a brief spell of life but it left a brilliant record behind. This was due above all to the drive and devotion of Ala-ul-Din, whose achievements were splendid.

In the thirty years of this regime, the Pak power pierced through the Vindhya and extended into Khandes and southern Dinia. It brought under its sway the country of Talingana and the city of Doegiri—the modern Daulatabad, “at that

PAKISTAN in 1318 A.D.



time the capital of the Hindoo Kingdom of Mahrashtr." In fact it reached almost as far south as Adam's Bridge, where to commemorate the great event, in the spirit of Islamic tradition, was built not a palace or a castle, but a mosque.

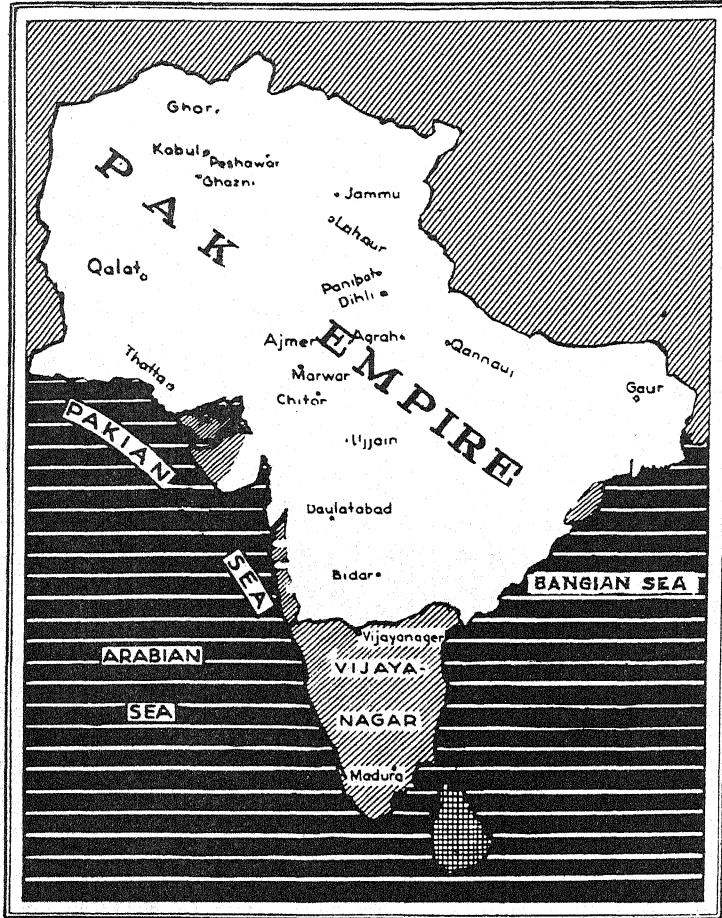
The Khilji *Hukumat* gave place to that of the Tughlaqs, which was founded by Ghiyas-ul-Din Tughlaq in 1320 and which lasted until 1414. The strong man of this *Hukumat* was Muhammad Tughlaq, who has rightly been described as "a great administrator, an accomplished scholar, and a skilful general." He conquered vast regions, introduced radical reforms including a regular revenue system, and overhauled the whole administration of the Commonwealth.

Though fully occupied with the affairs of the Commonwealth, he found time to extend his activities to countries outside Dinia. To reintegrate the ancient historic Pakistan he sent one expedition to Iran; and to extend the beneficent sway of the Crescent, he sent another to China. It is true that both the expeditions proved costly and unsuccessful, but it is equally true that in sending them he rendered us a great service. His enterprise gave a new impulse to, our position and purpose, and placed before us a nobler ideal, which we will attain in the fulness of time.

Muhammad Tughlaq had a worthy successor in his cousin, Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who added to his father's record of service and fostered the prosperity of Pakistan and of the Commonwealth. He carried out, among other improvements, many public works such as the Jamna Canal, several dams across rivers for irrigation, tanks, caravansaries, mosques, colleges, hospitals, and bridges, and thus left the country in a flourishing state.

It was a tragedy that the work of this regime was marred by the invasion of Ameer Taimour in 1398, which prejudiced the growth of Pakistan, disrupted the administration of the Commonwealth, and exposed the solidarity of the Millat to the danger of disintegration. In fact, soon after Taimour's departure this danger materialized; and centrifugal forces,

PAKISTAN in 1398 A.D.



coming to the surface, set up many small states. No doubt most of these were under Pak rulers; but their very appearance and example had, in the long run, disastrous consequences for the Millat in Dinia.

The Tughlaq *Hukumat* gave place to the sterile regime of the Saiyyids, which lasted from 1414 to 1450; and this in turn was succeeded by the aimless *Hukumat* of the Lodhis from 1450 to 1526. Apart from the first battle of Panipat—which sealed its fate—the only event worth noting during the Lodhis' regime was the appearance of Europeans in Dinia—an event which was to prove fatal to the whole Orient. In 1500 the Portuguese established their first factory at Calicut; and in 1510 they captured Goa, which at the time was a city in the Bijapur Kingdom; but which afterwards became the capital of Portuguese Asia.

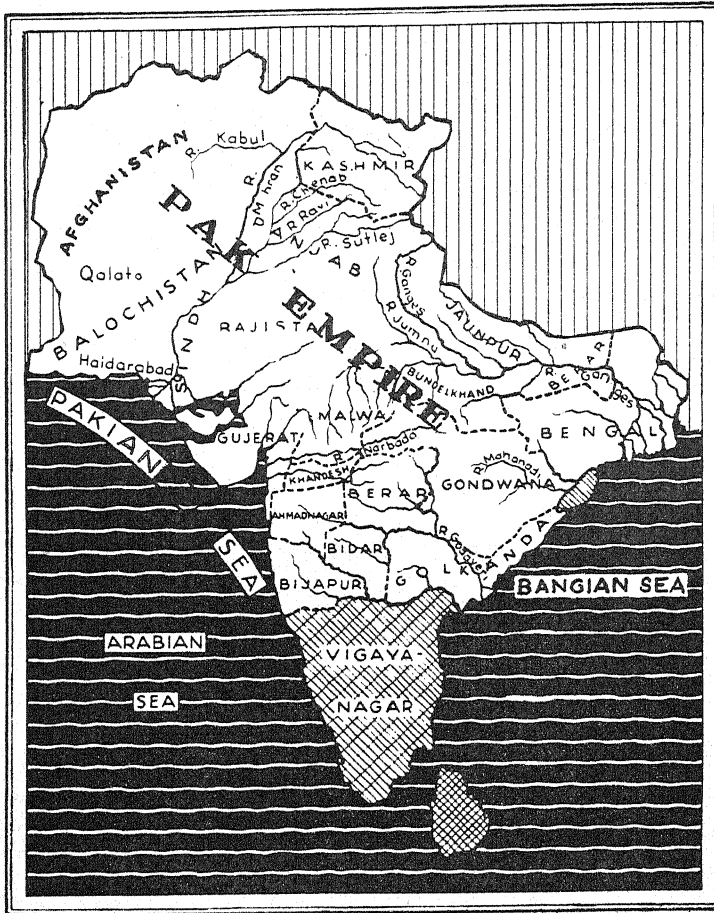
The Lodhi *Hukumat* was followed by that of the Mughals, which lasted from 1526 to 1857.

During the three centuries of this *Hukumat* sixteen sovereigns ascended the throne of Pakistan and directed the affairs of the Imperial Commonwealth of Dinia. Of these we must refer to at least four—Babar, Akbar, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb—who were the leading figures of the regime and the main architects of its fortune in Dinia.

Babar, founder of the *Hukumat*, was as by name so by nature "a lion." Brave, brilliant, and dynamic, he was a born leader of men. He had passed through a hard school of life, faced many trials in his youth, and come out successful in them all.

Having secured his position in his ancestral dominion of Farghana, he turned his attention towards Pakistan and the rest of Dinia. This meant a fight against Ibrahim Lodhi in 1526, a fight which has already been mentioned as the first battle of Panipat. In this battle, he commanded his army with his customary brilliance, defeated Ibrahim, and won his

PAKISTAN in 1525 A.D.



first great victory in Dinia. This victory brought him prestige and power, but not peace and security. For no sooner had he established himself at Delhi than he had to face a challenge from the princes of Rajistan, who had formed an alliance to defeat him and to destroy the Pak power in the Continent. A less bold man might have quailed before them, but not Babar. He accepted their challenge, met them at Sikri in 1527, and "after a battle memorable for its perils" defeated them all.

This second victory had far-reaching effects. It ensured the consolidation of the *Hukumat*, facilitated the conquest of Bihar, and extended the new Commonwealth "from the river Amu in Central Asia to the borders of the Gangetic Delta in Lower Bengal."

His work was hardly finished when three years later, 1530, Babar died, as he had lived, in dramatic circumstances. He was succeeded by his son, Humayoun, who passed through trying times and suffered, among other vicissitudes, two defeats at the hands of Sher Shah Suri—who set up the Suri *Hukumat* at Delhi from 1540 to 1545.

Humayoun spent these five years in exile in Pakistan and in Iran at the court of Shah Tahmasap Safavi. Later, with the help of an army furnished him by the Shah, he recovered the lost territory and entered Delhi in 1555. He had ruled only a few months when he died in 1556.

He was succeeded by his thirteen-year-old son, Akbar, who, like him, had to fight the Afghans. In 1556, at the very outset of his reign, he was forced to engage in a desperate battle, known as the second battle of Panipat. Thanks to the brilliant strategy of his Commander-in-Chief, General Bairam Khan, he won the battle and with it the first and most formidable duel for the mastery of Dinia.

This victory secured his position and gave him time to formulate his policies and organize his forces. He "took the reins of power into his own hands" and proceeded methodically to bring the Continent under his effective jurisdiction.

To begin with, he turned his attention to Rajistan and reduced the Rajpoot princes to subjection between 1561 and 1568; then he tackled the Gujrat province, which, after two campaigns, he re-annexed in 1572-73; and finally, three years later, he reconquered both Bihar and Bengal in 1576.

This completed the first phase of the consolidation of the Commonwealth and of the co-ordination of its administrative and military machine. Now, with added confidence, he opened the second phase. In 1581 he put an end to an insurrection in Gujrat, in 1586 he fully conquered the province of Kashmir, and in the next year pacified the Yousafzais of Afghanistan. Further, in 1592, he subjugated Sindh, and in 1594 brought Kabul and Qandhar into the Commonwealth.

These conquests firmly established his authority in the northern lands of Dinia and left him a free hand to initiate the last phase of consolidation. He began this with the conquest of Ahmadnagar in 1599, and completed it with the annexation of Khandes and some other regions in the south in 1601-2, after which he assumed the additional title of "King of the Deccan."

Apart from the territorial expansion and consolidation of the Commonwealth, he laboured constantly to improve its administration. To that end he adopted enlightened measures, enacted beneficent laws, and gave the Commonwealth a good Civil Service. Further, he initiated many military and fiscal reforms and introduced a land revenue system which still remains the foundation of the revenue system of the Continent. Finally, he organized the Commonwealth into fifteen *Subahs* (provinces) "over each of which he placed a governor, with full civil and military control," and in all of which he established a "system of communications, posts, and news-reporting . . . better than in other contemporary kingdoms" in the world. In this way he radically reformed every branch of the government and left it in an excellent condition to his successor.

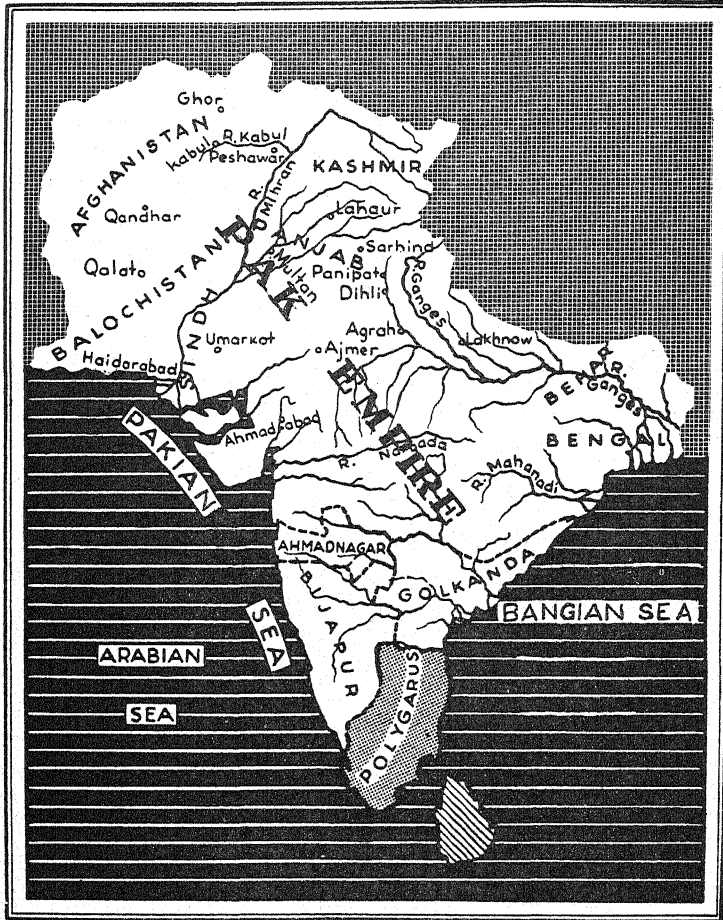
No doubt all this reflects great credit on Akbar as do certain

other measures which he adopted to pacify the recalcitrant elements among his subjects. It is certain that had he pursued his policy of pacification consistent with the interest of Islam and the Millat, he would have been remembered as one of our greatest men. But he did just the reverse of that. He pursued it at the expense of Islam and the Millat. In his vain efforts to appease the Caste Hindoos—as if they could ever be appeased!—he created, with the help of that able careerist, Abul Fazl, the devilish doctrine of “*Din-i-Ilahi*” (Divine Faith), which struck at the very root of Islam and the Millat. Again, with the same end in view, he entered into marriage-alliances with some Caste Hindoo Rajpoot princely families, a thing which flouted the sacred laws of Islam. He never cared to realize that these acts were at once futile and fatal. They were futile because they could never have the desired effect; and they were fatal because they were bound to compromise the basis on which rested the security of his dynasty and the supremacy of the Millat in Dinia. The truth is that, in his craze for dynastic glory, he forsook the teachings of Islam and forgot the lessons of history. Naturally this had a grim sequel. It turned his immediate triumphs into ultimate tragedies and led to the downfall of his dynasty. Worse: it dismembered our Commonwealth and frustrated our Mission in Dinia.

Akbar died in 1605 and was succeeded by his son, Jahangir, who ruled from 1605 to 1627. He tried, not without success, to reverse the spiritual and social tendencies so dangerously encouraged by his father and to reassert the true character of our Commonwealth. It is obvious that in this he did a great service to our nation in Pakistan and to our Millat in Dinia.

To ensure the consolidation of the Commonwealth, he conducted several campaigns in the Deccan and brought about the defeat of the Raja of Udaipur by Prince Shah Jahan. In the administration of justice in the Commonwealth he left nothing to be desired. Apart from giving strict orders to the Judiciary to dispense even-handed justice, he made himself accessible

PAKISTAN in 1605 A.D.



to the meanest of his subjects. Indeed, for this purpose he had "a chain hung down from the citadel to the ground so that every suitor might apprise (him) of his demand for justice, without the intervention of courtiers."

In his reign, however, two fateful events took place; the true significance of which was not realized at the time. The first was that in 1609 the Dutch "got a footing" in southern Dinia—an event which in time was to extinguish the freedom of so many lands and islands of South-East Asia; and the second was that in 1612 the British established their first settlement in Surat—an event which, two and a half centuries later, was to spell the end of our supremacy in Dinia and of that of so many other nations in Asia and Africa.

On the death of Jahangir in 1627, his son Shah Jahan came to the throne in 1628 and ruled till 1658.

In the time of Shah Jahan the power and possessions of the Commonwealth grew; and the people enjoyed peace and prosperity. The moral prestige of the Millat was fully restored and most of the disastrous effects of Akbar's policies were neutralized.

In so far as territorial conquests are concerned, in the north Shah Jahan regained the provinces of Balkh and Qandhar; and in the south he reduced the famous fort of Bidar and the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkanda; all of which were incorporated in the Commonwealth.

In addition to these achievements, he accomplished great things in the cultural and architectural sphere. He raised the Delhi Court to the height of splendour and endowed the capital "with buildings of unrivalled magnificence." Of these the most noteworthy are the Jami Masjid; the exquisite palace, now the Fort, the gateway of which is "the noblest entrance to any existing palace"; and the *Diwan-i-Khas* or Court of Private Audience, which is "a masterpiece of delicate inlaid work and poetic design." In this connection, it is impossible to leave unmentioned the Peacock Throne, which, "with its

blazing tail in the shifting natural colour of rubies, sapphires, and emeralds," can only be described as *Takht-i-Noor*.

The creative genius of Shah Jahan was by no means exhausted in Delhi. In fact it was to find its best expression at Agra in the Taj Mahal—the mausoleum of his empress—which is universally acclaimed as one of the wonders of the world. Morally, an immortal monument of Pak devotion to family life, the Taj is, æsthetically, “a dream in marble”; and, architecturally, “the conception of Titans and the creation of jewellers.” In addition to the Taj, he enriched Agra with the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, which even a Christian writer has called “the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world.”

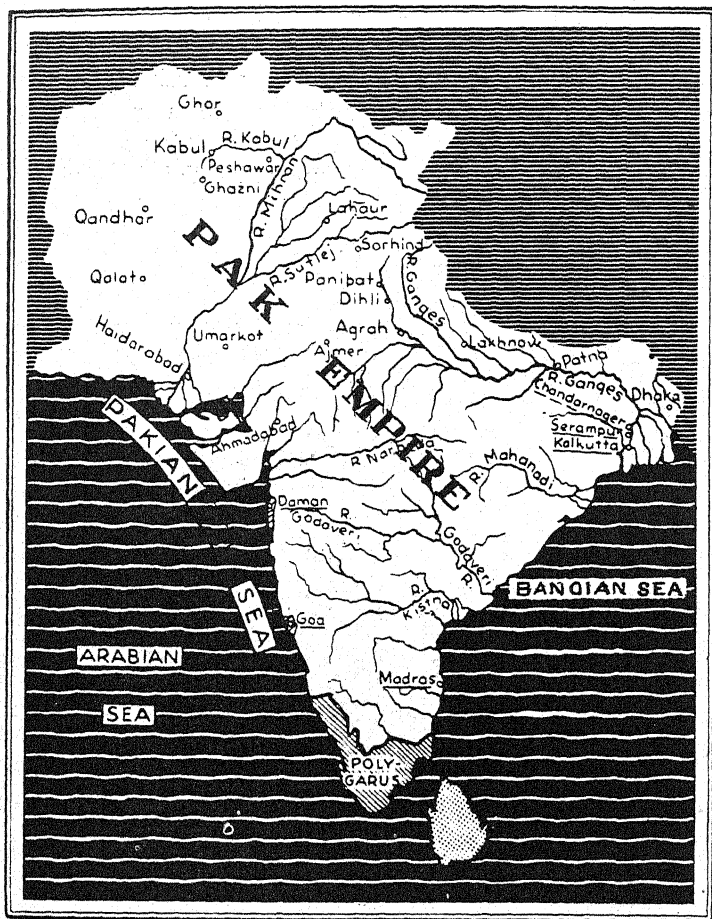
Shah Jahan was succeeded by his illustrious son, Ghazi Mohayuddin Aurangzeb Alamgir I, who proved himself the greatest ruler not only of this Hukumat but of all Hukumats of the Millat in Dinia.

In fact, after the first four Khalifas there are not many like him in the whole history of the Fraternity. He was at once a saint, a soldier, and a sovereign, whose whole life and labours were devoted to the service of Islam, of the Millat, and of the Commonwealth in the Continent.

It is no wonder therefore that in the forty-nine years of his reign he realized some of our most ardent ambitions and saw our Commonwealth “reach its widest limits.” The independent kingdoms in the south were all slowly but surely brought into it, as were some Caste Hindoo principalities in other regions of Dinia. Not only that. The insurrection of the Mahrattas was suppressed in the Deccan, and the first attempt was made to conquer the province of Assam, which one day will form part of Bangistan. Thus under him the Commonwealth came to cover the whole Continent and to control all its peoples and princes.

Surely this was a splendid achievement in itself; but it was not all. The greatest success of Aurangzeb was gained in the moral and spiritual domain. Both by precept and by example,

PAKISTAN in 1700 A.D.



by inspiration and by action, he revitalized the cause of Islam in Dinia, revived the crusading spirit among Muslims, and rededicated them to the mission of the Millat. This was a unique service, for which we are eternally grateful to him. Indeed, we are deeply conscious that no man ever did more for Islam in the Continent of Dinia, that few will ever do as much, and that all will ever cherish his memory, honour his work, and follow his example.

It is all the more pity therefore that after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 we ignored the immutable law of life that what one inherits from one's ancestors one must win anew to retain. We failed to rear men possessing the vision and vigour necessary to preserve the vast heritage left by him. In fact, with one or two exceptions, those who succeeded him were utterly inadequate to meet the challenge of the times they lived in. The result was a creeping paralysis of the Commonwealth and a gradual decline in its authority.

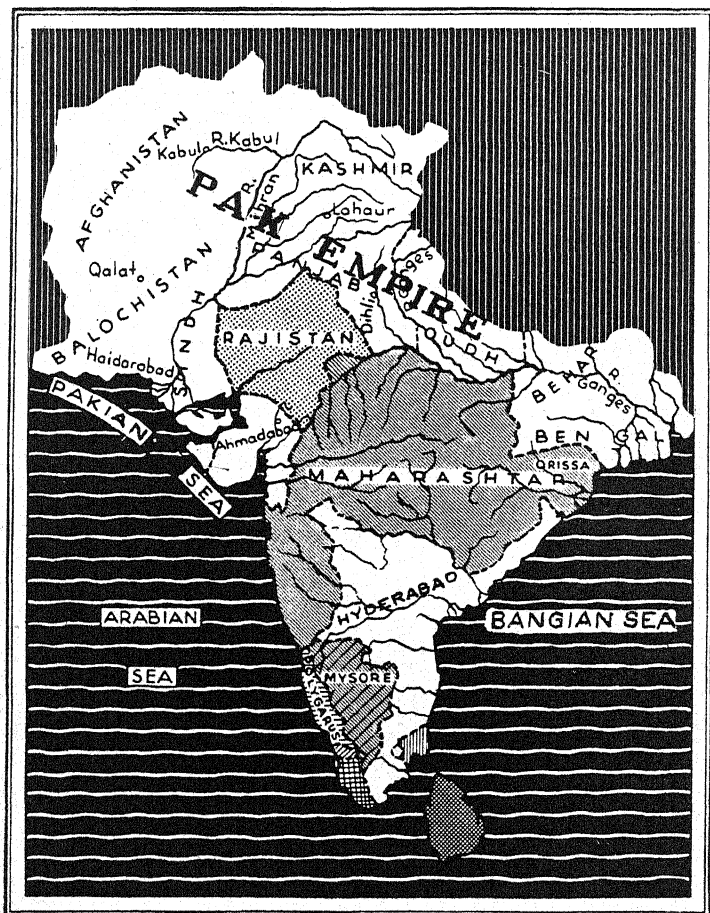
It is worth recording that, apart from internal causes, this decline was hastened by two events which occurred in the next sixty years, although the second of them was intended to arrest the decline.

The first was the invasion of Dinia by Nadir Shah of Iran in 1739, in which he defeated the Delhi armies near Karnal and occupied the capital itself for a short time. This shook the Commonwealth to its foundations, deprived it of the territory west of the Mihran, and weakened the whole position of the Millat in Dinia.

The second was a series of seven campaigns undertaken by Ahmad Shah Abdali between 1748 and 1767. The fourth of these campaigns was directed against the Mahrattas, who had been indulging in subversive activities to sabotage the Commonwealth. He met them in 1761 in what is known as the third battle of Panipat, defeated their forces, and destroyed their Confederacy.

In the next year—1762—he launched the fifth campaign, that against the Sikhs, who had laid siege to Jandiala and

PAKISTAN in 1751 A.D.



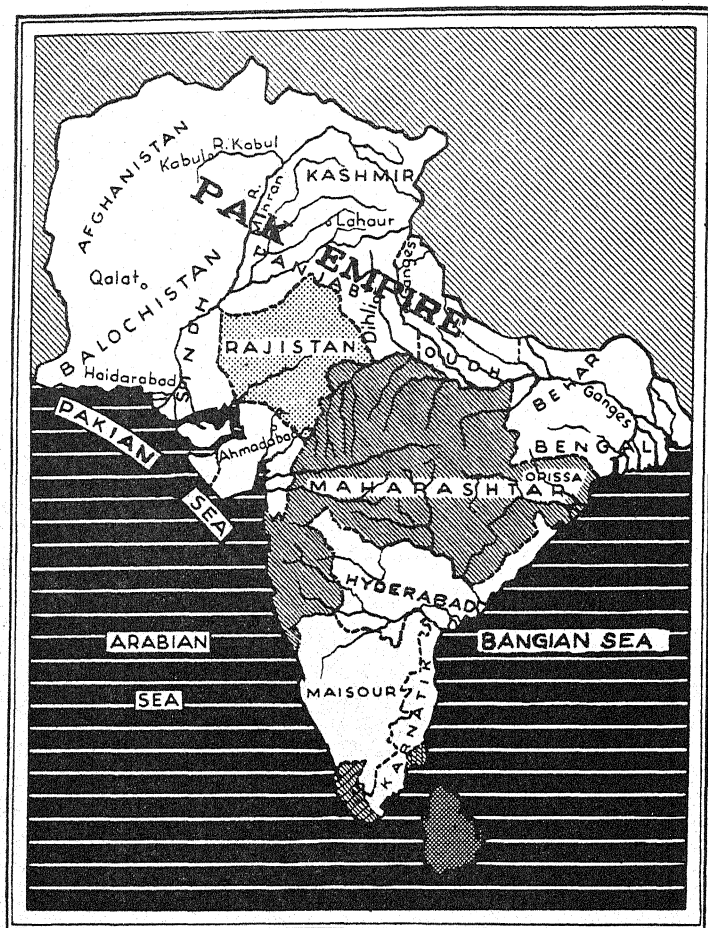
were causing trouble in the Panjab. He crushed their army at Gujarwal in a fight which is recorded in Sikh history as the "Ghalugarha" or "great overthrow."

Although as a result of these campaigns he took from the Commonwealth the provinces of Kashmir, the Panjab, Sindh and Balochistan, his victories over the anti-Milli forces gave the Commonwealth an opportunity to reverse the downward trend which since 1707 had endangered its power and prestige in the Continent. Unfortunately no one arose in Delhi to make use of the opportunity, while Abdali himself did neither of the two things which could have saved the situation. He neither amalgamated the Delhi Commonwealth and the Kabul Kingdom to create a Greater Pak Commonwealth nor stayed in Delhi to consolidate his victories in Dinia. Unlike Babar, he returned to Afghanistan in 1767 and the Commonwealth fell a prey to all sorts of adventurers—Caste Hindoo, French, and British; the last of whom, having already taken possession of Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757, were now casting covetous eyes on Delhi itself.

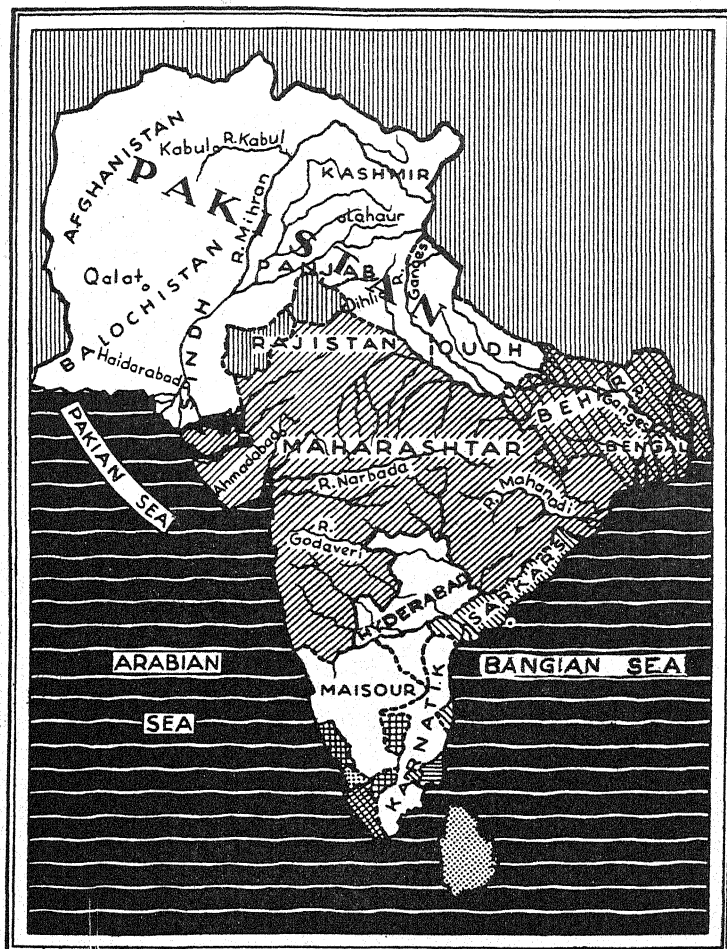
Inevitably, therefore, during the years that followed Abdali's departure from Dinia, there started a race for power in which the British left their rivals behind. They ruthlessly exploited the situation, unscrupulously annexed Haidaristan, and secretly prepared to capture Delhi, the capital of the Commonwealth. But before they could realize their dream about Delhi, they had to face the determined opposition of Haidar Ali and his brilliant son, Fatih Ali Tipu—the *Shaheed Sultan*—who challenged their ambitions in Dinia from the south. This meant a thirty years' war in the course of which first Haidar Ali and then Tipu fought brilliantly for the Millat's cause and inflicted several defeats upon the British.

These defeats, though serious, were not decisive. So the struggle went on and ended ultimately in favour of the British. This was due not to any fault of Tipu, but to the treachery of his allies. For it is a human certainty that he would have defeated and destroyed the British if, in the second phase

PAKISTAN in 1780 A.D.



PAKISTAN in 1795 A.D.



of the struggle, he had not been betrayed by his allies and, in the last phase, not been killed in the battle of Seringapatam in 1799.

Tipu's death was a tragedy both for Maisour and for the Millat. It dimmed the prospects of our recovery and brightened those of British victory. In fact it cleared the way for British domination and left them free to prepare undisturbed their advance towards Delhi. This they did systematically and, to make sure of ultimate success, they took care that no rival should arise to challenge their ambitions and check their advance. For this purpose, they played off one party against another, kept the Continent divided, and continued to undermine our Commonwealth till 1856—by which time, having completed their preparations and secured their alliances with our enemies, they were ready to make a bid for supremacy in Dinia.

These are the main episodes in the story of Pakistan up to 1856. Admittedly, they provide little more than the chapter-headings of that story; but they are recorded here to stress three supreme facts about Pakistan.

The first is that the record of Pakistan is second to that of no other nation in the world. The second is that with Pakistan are identified all our history and all our hopes, both of which are born of the immortal deeds of our heroes, who left to us our national home in Pakistan and our Millat and Mission in Dinia and its Dependencies. The third is that, the period from 712 to 1856, which is associated with the advent of Islam, with the rise of its power, and with the record of its service to the peoples of Dinia, represents the "Golden Age" in the annals of Pakistan.

In 1857:—This Age came to an end in 1857, the year which is recorded in letters of blood and fire as the *Black Year* in the history of Pakistan and in that of Dinia. In that year the British set out to deprive us of our national freedom, to destroy our Commonwealth, and to establish their empire in Dinia.

This started war in Dinia—and for Dinia. For us, it started a battle of life and death. We knew that in this battle everything was at stake; so we entered into it with the determination to do or die. We fought manfully and defended the Continent heroically. But when, owing to treachery and treason, we could not win, rather than surrender we resolved upon two fateful steps.

The first was to transfer the scene of our national resistance from the plains of Dinia to the mountains on the north-west frontier of Pakistan in order to continue from there our resistance in the form of guerrilla war. Since then ninety years have gone by and throughout these years our resistance has never weakened. We have fought on with all the resources at our disposal and made our fight famous as the longest guerrilla war of all history.

The second resolve was to fight to the last ditch under our imperial organization in the plains of Dinia. All the world knows how we carried out this resolve: how we went down fighting in the plains, and how even in our defeat we covered ourselves with glory.

This defeat, the only one we ever suffered in our history under Islam, was the most destructive for our cause as well as the most decisive of modern times. It shattered our heritage built up in the long centuries of our opportunity in Dinia and shook that of the whole Muslim world. In other words, while in its direct effects it suspended our national sovereignty in our homelands of Pakistan, destroyed our supremacy in the Continent of Dinia, and darkened the future of our Millat throughout Pakasia; in its indirect effects it exposed the whole Orient to foreign domination, endangered the freedom of all Muslim lands, and altered the balance of power against our Fraternity throughout the world.

The sombre but instructive details of the world-wide repercussions of the tragedy of 1857 cannot be detailed here, nor can their grim effects on the Orient and the Muslim world be discussed. These being beyond the central purpose of this

book, we must content ourselves with recording the fact that, for the first time after twelve centuries, most of Pakistan fell from its high estate in 1857; and that in the same year it was annexed to the British Indian Empire, which rose upon the ruins of our Pak Imperial Commonwealth.

From 1857 to 1946:—For the events of the years between 1857 and 1946, the reader should turn to the next chapter, which deals with the Pakistan National Movement.

CHAPTER XV

THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The effect of Pak ideology on the myth of Indian unity has been devastating. It has destroyed the cult of the uni-nationalism and uni-territorialism of India and created instead the creed of the multi-nationalism and multi-territorialism of Dinia. This development has deeply upset the old votaries of that mythology and made them vent their spleen against the Pakistan National Movement, which is the creator of the new creed. To avenge their discredited cult, to defend their past spent in the service of that cult, and above all to blunt the appeal of the Movement to the people of Pakistan, they have retaliated with mud-slinging, made false and foul statements about its origin, ideals and aims, and published besmirching slanders about me as its founder, and about its members, supporters and sympathisers.

First, *the British*, who as a matter of policy subscribed to the Indian myth, have, to prejudice public opinion against the Movement, ascribed its origin to Pan-Islamic fanaticism and its foundation to the help of Muslim Princedom. To realize the absurdity of this suggestion one has only to remember first that Pan-Islamism which haunts the British and warps their judgment, is not fanaticism but a fundament in which all Muslims believe; and, secondly, that the Princes are the very people who deserted our struggle for survival in 1857; and who, to save their dynastic domains, joined the British in destroying our Commonwealth in Dinia. Further, since the foundation of the Movement, these Princes have, to secure their privileges, opposed it in order to please the British as their present protectors, and to appease the Caste Hindoos as their future suzerains. Finally, some of them are spending vast sums to frustrate it—and to defeat the whole Pak Plan which is the sheet-anchor of our nation in Pakistan and of our Millat in Dinia.

Next, *the Muslim politicians*, who through sheer careerism followed the myth, have—to compromise the Movement with their own dubious past and to confuse the people about its mission—attributed its rise to the inspiration of their own “brilliant record.” This is just as true as day is born of night; since it was their blighting record which made inevitable the birth of the Movement. And no wonder. For that record in the pre-Pakistan period—1857 to 1932—mainly consisted of their opposition to our struggle under our religious leaders against British political and cultural domination; their propagation of downright “Quislingism” among our people; and their collaboration with the British-Bania Alliance in “minoritizing and Indianizing” our nation. True, that record does not end there; for they have kept adding to it even in the post-Pakistan period; but to that part, which is no less shameful, we shall refer later.

Lastly, *the Caste Hindoos*, who created and canonized the myth, have gone one better and played a double game of duplicity. To succeed in it they have employed a mixed corps of propagandists—some of whom are Caste Hindoo and some Muslim, some European and some American. How unscrupulous are these “liesmiths” may be realized from the fact that while the non-Muslims among them include such *El-Hinoozas* as the mercenaries who put out the canard that His Eminence Haji Muhammad Amin Al-Husaini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and a great hero of the Fraternity, was helped to escape from Paris to Cairo by the British and that he and his followers are financed by them; the Muslims among them comprise such *El-Haramzas* as the traitors who compare with those Muslim confederates of Miss Janki, who conspired to incriminate Marshal Muhammad Qasim before the Khalifa, and who claimed his life, and thereby slowed down for centuries the spread of Islam in Pakistan and the rest of Dinia.

Yes, with the help of such propagandists the Caste Hindoos have played their game of duplicity. On the one hand, to enlist British support against the Movement, they have warned

them that it constitutes a grave danger to their interests in India; and, on the other, to prejudice Muslims against it, they have whispered to them that it is instigated by British Imperialism. That this is crude calumny run amok is clear from two facts: first that in principle the Movement is neither anti-British nor anti-Hindoo, but only pro-Pak; and, second, that British Imperialism—the alleged instigator of the Movement—is the very Imperialism which broke Muslim power throughout the world, destroyed our Commonwealth in Dinia, and now opposes Pakistan itself. Not only that. To punish the Movement for its “Pan-Islamic idealism” and “political extremism,” the publicists of this Imperialism have done their best to slander and suppress the Movement, while its representatives have tried to curb and crush it. Thus they have, among other things, negotiated even about Pakistan, not with the Movement which created it, but with quisling organizations which till 1940 opposed it; and they have denounced me as “a fanatic and an extremist,” as “a Pan-Islamist visionary and an idealist, given to subversive activities.”

This record of British Imperialism exposes the foulness of the Caste Hindoos' allegation—an allegation which they have invariably made against such Muslim individuals or institutions as challenge Caste Hindoo hegemony and cherish Muslim solidarity. Indeed, to defame them they have always fabricated lies, forged documents, and framed evidence; and have made them out demented or dishonest, cranky or corrupt. In short, in their view such men and movements have never been anything else and in their vocabulary there has never been any other word for them. We have known our Caste Hindoos for centuries, and we know this is their normal and natural reaction. It is the inevitable manifestation of their inherent hostility towards Islam—the hostility which has so perverted their mind that if a Muslim described water as liquid they would call it stone even if you took them to Niagara Falls.

However, as in this three-sided propaganda, facts have been systematically distorted and falsehoods disseminated, we must

in the interest of historical truth place on record the salient facts concerning the origin, ideals, and aims of the Movement.

To help the reader to appreciate the true significance of these facts, we shall preface our statement by a few observations on the rise and growth of institutions which, like the Movement, enshrine the past of a nation, embody its present, and symbolize its future in the ideals for which they stand, strive, and suffer.

Now, all students of history know that such institutions do not spring up overnight. Far from it. They are a slow and steady development. This is hardly surprising; for, though born of the creed of a people and blessed by their seers, they have none the less to pass through prolonged periods of evolution before attracting notice. Then, though invariably taken up by ardent spirits and supported by devoted patriots, yet before attaining *national* status they have to face sabotage and suppression both from the baser elements within their own people and from the ruthless enemies outside. The result is that, in their earlier phases, their ideals are criticized and their aims questioned, their development is chequered and their progress interspersed with setbacks.

This goes on for some time. It tries and tests them to the core. If they survive the ordeal, their future is assured. New converts come in to help the old workers and together they serve and shape them according to their lights and commit them to their successors. So, stage by stage, the movements grow in strength, gather momentum and, as the rhythm of action quickens, sweep away all opposition and become irresistible crusades for their missions.

That, in essence, is the natural law which governs the rise, development, and fulfilment of such institutions as the Pakistan National Movement—the Movement in whose birth is summed up the story of the last ninety years of the life of our nation in Pakistan—as, indeed, of our whole Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It is needless to add that, so far as that story is concerned,

it cannot be told in full in this statement. For the sole object of this chapter being to provide a broad basic outline of the immediate background and of the origin and aims of the Pakistan National Movement, it will suffice if in short strokes we touch upon only those events which, in our deep repentance and in our solemn re-dedication, have found their expression in the Pakistan National Movement.

What are these events?

The most important of these events is, of course, the tragedy of 1857—the tragedy which, after centuries of our memorable service to all countries of the Continent of Dinia, deprived us of our national sovereignty in Pakistan and of our imperial supremacy in Dinia.

It is true that, as a consequence of this tragedy, we lost most of our heritage; but it is equally true that, in spite of that, there is one thing we never lost—our nationhood in Pakistan. This is incontrovertible. For, while empires, by their very creation, are ephemeral; nations, by their very nature, are eternal. Unlike empires, they may decline in power and prestige, but they never disappear; they may suffer defeats and downfall, but they never die. Such is the verdict of history, which tells us that, as long as they actively believe in their future, they can survive any crisis in their fate. And no wonder; for faith spells life, and defeatism, demise.

Let us, therefore, pause here to reiterate the vital fact that though our defeat of 1857 suspended our national sovereignty in Pakistan and suppressed our imperial supremacy in Dinia, it did not extinguish our nationhood. Indeed, it could not. For that remained eternally embodied in our people, living in our homelands.

This fact is of pivotal importance. It is, indeed, the very life-breath of the Pakistan National Movement. It brings out clearly the basic, vital distinction between our status in our homelands of Pakistan and our position in our Imperial Commonwealth of Dinia. It shows that, like the Turks in Turkey proper, we are a nation in Pakistan; but that like the

Turks in Romania, Greece, Bulgaria and the other lands which at one time formed part of the old Turkish Empire, we were a ruling community in such lands as Hindoostan, Rajistan, Mahrashtar, which till 1857 were the provinces of our Imperial Commonwealth in Dinia.

Now, fortunately for nations, such facts are never silent. On the contrary, they ever speak to the souls of men, and call them to action. And so did this fact of the distinction between our homelands and our empire. After the defeat of 1857, it warned us of the dark days ahead and summoned us to salvage, from the wreck of our Imperial Commonwealth in Dinia, our national existence in Pakistan.

That warning was the writing on the wall; and that summons, the call of our destiny. So nothing could be more inexorable than the one and nothing more compelling than the other. In deep and dominating tones, in explicit and imperative terms, they urged us to realize that as, owing to our own gadarene folly and to the gross treachery of others, our old imperial order had collapsed, we had to create in its place a new national order on new national foundations.

It is clear that, had we all taken that warning to heart, we should have seen that, on the morrow of our fall in 1857, we really stood facing the parting of the ways. That is, the parting on the one side of which was inscribed the hope of our national deliverance and on the other the certainty of our national doom. Had we all answered the summons of our destiny, we should have taken the course leading to our national re-integration in Pakistan. And there within its frontiers we should have kept our national entity distinct from Indians and our territorial entity separate from India. Not only that. We should have reared our youth in our own tradition, nursed our people back to strength in our own homelands, and risen again to resume our mission in the Continent.

It is certain we should have done all that, if only our leaders had had the vision to read the portents of the times; if only they had had the courage to meet the crisis created by the

tragedy. But, alas, they had neither vision nor courage, and ill fare the people whose leaders lack those qualities. It is no wonder therefore that, in their blindness and weakness, they ignored the signals of destiny, directed us to a fatal course, and betrayed us into the iron bonds of "India" and "Indianism." From this failure of our leadership in that crisis of our fate there resulted, among other things, that dismemberment of our nation which has gone on year after year since 1857.

I feel sure history will record the fact that, since our fall, this has been our greatest single failure and folly.

So much for the morrow of the blackest tragedy of our history. What of the days that followed it?

For an answer to that question we must turn to the so-called constitutional period under British Imperialism. This period, so far as it concerns us here, extends from 1862 to 1932 and covers most of the Acts of Parliament on India. It is associated with the activities of almost all Muslim political organizations including the Central Muhammadan Association, Indian Muslim Federation, All-India Muslim League, and All-India Muslim Conference; and it is indelibly marked by the "Indianization" of our nation and our lands.

How?

I shall explain.

In all the changes of this period, initiated by the Government of India Act of 1862, developed by the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, and extended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1920—changes which, to their lasting shame, were accepted by all Muslim political organizations—we were treated, not as a distinct nation, but as a minority community belonging to the Indian nation, and our territories not as our national homelands, but as provinces of India. In this way, we were deprived of our nationhood, robbed of our homelands, and reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the British and their allies, the Banias.

It is needless to add that the injustice thus done to us has no parallel in history; it is unique in its enormity. Yet it

was not accidental. On the contrary, it was systematic; and, what is more, it was supported by the Caste Hindoos and submitted to by the Muslim politicians. For, whichever political party was in power in Britain, our de-nationalization constituted the core of British policy; whichever Caste Hindoo party was in control of the Indian National Congress, our de-Islamization remained the creed of Caste Hindoo politics; whatever other differences between the British and the Caste Hindoos, our "Indianization" formed the content of the British-Bania Alliance; and whichever Muslim political body was predominant, submission to the Alliance constituted the unfailing feature of its activities.

To say this is not to ignore the fact that, in 1909, at the request of the All-India Muslim League, we were recognised by the British as a community distinct from the Caste Hindoos and given separate representation in the legislatures of our "provinces" and of "India." It is only to remember that this recognition had a terrible sequel—a sequel of which most of our politicians were treacherously ignorant. In its immediate effects, it subtly stamped our people "Indian" and our lands administrative districts of "India." It did more than that. In its ultimate effects, despite the heroic stand of men like Maulana Muhammad Ali, that fearless fighter and devoted servant of the Millat, who lived and died for Islam, it de-nationalized our intelligentsia and demoralized our politicians. In a word, it so perverted the mentality of most of them as to render the very conception of our nationhood alien to them, and make some of them careerists under British Imperialism and some dupes of Indian Nationalism.

From such politicians we could hardly expect much. We knew it was not in them to challenge the foul policies of the British-Bania Alliance, to defeat the sinister designs of the Alliance, or to formulate a plan for our permanent defence against it. Yet they were so entrenched that we could not get rid of them. For then as now they controlled our political organizations with the help of their masters, and claimed to

represent our nation in their councils. Not only that. They called upon us all to follow them in collaborating with the British-Bania Alliance.

Fortunately, this our *Jamhour* never did. It never followed them; it never worked for their programmes of Indianizing our people and our lands. On the contrary, it stuck to its traditional belief that we Muslims are a Millat distinct from the Caste Hindoo Jati; that our destiny lies in integration with other Muslims, and not with Caste Hindoos; that, among other territories, the north-western provinces of present-day "India" belong to us and not to Caste Hindoos; and that we must free them from British-Bania domination.

The result was that in spite of such politicians, this remained the belief of our people. And no wonder. It is a belief which is born of our history and blessed by our heroes; which has been held by us generation after generation; which has been voiced by us in one form or another throughout the British regime; and which has sustained us all in our trials since 1857.

It is worth recording that the greatest supporters of this belief have been among our *Pirs* and *Faqirs*, our *Mushaikh* and *Ulema*. They have propagated it among our masses and suffered persecution for it. They have embraced poverty, borne attacks by our politicians, and endured the polemics of our "intellectuals"; but they have stood firm and defied them all; they have throughout continued their work and called upon us to translate this belief into reality. Need one add that for this great service we all owe them an unpayable debt of gratitude.

Now, as millions of other parents must have imparted this belief to their children, so my father, Haji Choudhary Shah Muhammad, imparted it to me in my childhood. I grew with it and it grew with me. My studies strengthened it and my experiences steeled it. What is more, the trials of the Fraternity between 1909 and 1915 made it the dominating passion of my life.

It was in 1915—one of the most fateful years in the history

of Islam—that I gave my first political expression to it when founding the *Bazm-i-Shibli*. In my inaugural address to the *Bazm*, I said:—

“North of India is Muslim and we will keep it Muslim. Not only that. We will make it a Muslim State. But this we can do only if and when we and our North cease to be Indian. For that is a pre-requisite to it. So the sooner we shed ‘Indianism,’ the better for us all and for Islam.”

The immediate occasion for this statement was the negotiations which were then afoot between Hindoo and Muslim leaders for an understanding on the basis of the national unity of India, and which culminated in the perilous Lucknow Pact of 1916.

It is interesting to recall that one of the immediate consequences of that statement was the severance of my connection with a revolutionary society of Hindoo and Muslim young “intellectuals,” most of whom supported the aim of the negotiations. In the discussions with them it became clear to me that we could not work together; for, apart from our opposition to Imperialism, our ideals differed. So I took leave of them, saying:—

“Friends! If my views are unacceptable to you, we had better part. In doing that, let every one of us keep true to his pledges, to the ideals of revolution; let every one of us serve the cause of freedom according to his faith. You go your way and I will go my way. You work for your Indian revolution but I will work for my Islamic revolution. At the end, we shall see who creates the most dynamic and creative revolution in India.”

On looking back to the episode I feel it was a blessing. It gave an exclusive, Islamic direction to my idealism—a direction which ultimately led to the Pak Plan, of which Pakistan is the first part.

However, to go back to the belief of the *Jamhour*. It was

the same belief that was voiced in 1923 by Sardar Muhammad Gul Khan (President, Anjuman Islamia, Dera Ismail Khan, Afghanistan) before the North-West Frontier Committee appointed by the Government of India. In the course of his evidence, he said:—

“We [Muslims] would very much rather see the separation of the Hindoos and Muhammadans, 23 crores of Hindoos to the South and eight crores of Muslims to the North. Give the whole portion of India from Raskumari [Cape Comorin] to Agra to Hindoos and from Agra to Peshawar to Muslims.”

It will be noted that in his demand this simple Muslim, this member of the *Jamhour*, repudiated all Muslim politicians and organizations working for the common nationhood of Muslims and Hindoos, asserted our distinct nationhood, and asked for a clear-cut division of India between Hindoos and Muslims.

It seems strange that though he made the demand one year before Maulana Hasrat Mohani tried to achieve Muslim security within India and seven years before Sir Muhammad Iqbal did the same; and though his demand has been widely known at least since 1941 when the Akhboot leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, mentioned it in his “*Thoughts on Pakistan*,” yet so far as I know not one of our writers has seen fit to refer to it. I do hope this omission has not been due to any feeling that a reference to his demand may compromise their personal “heroes” or discredit their pet theories about the evolution of the Muslim demand for the division of India. For that would be un-Islamic and unworthy of us Muslims, who are the standard-bearers of truth in the world.

However, the next attempt to give expression to that belief of the *Jamhour* was made by Maulana Hasrat—that selfless revolutionary and poet-politician who has devoted his life to the cause of freedom and who by his service and sacrifice has raised the standard of our public life. In 1924 he discussed the political situation with Caste Hindoo leaders, and put

forward his proposal for the liberation of India. In this, on behalf of Muslims, he rejected the idea of Dominion Status for India, advocated the aim of complete independence for India and promised Muslim co-operation in achieving it, provided the Caste Hindoos would agree to have "Muslim states united with Hindoo states under a National Federal Government of India."

It should be remembered that, in a federation, the word "state" means not a sovereign country, but a subordinate territorial unit and therefore, shorn of superficial plausibility, it is in effect synonymous with the term "province" as used in India.

If I may put his proposal more specifically, he asked the Hindoos:—

- (a) to recognise the bi-communal (Hindoo-Muslim) basis of the future Independent Indian State;
- (b) to convert the Muslim-majority provinces into Muslim states and the Hindoo-majority provinces into Hindoo states; and
- (c) to create an Indian Federation of these states and place it under a supreme National Government composed of Hindoos and Muslims.

It seems that, in advocating this proposal, he was sincerely hoping for a free Islam in a free federal India. But this was a vain hope; for such a federation could not but fetter Islam. This for the following reasons:—

First, the conversion of our "provinces" into "states" could make no difference to our fundamental status. Secondly, the creation of a federation of six Muslim states and sixteen Hindoo states could only perpetuate our subordinate position in India. Thirdly, the common nationhood of Hindoos and Muslims could only mean Hindoo nationhood for us Muslims; because it could not, apart from other things, make 100 million Muslims equal to 250 million Hindoos. Finally, owing to the same numerical disparity, it could only make the composition of the supreme national government overwhelmingly

Hindoo.

However, in spite of such serious flaws, Hasrat's proposal did substantial good. First, by rejecting "Dominion Status" and by advocating complete Independence for India it demonstrated Muslim love for the freedom of all peoples of India and contributed to the development of political thought among our people. Secondly, by demanding a Hindoo-Muslim basis for Indian Federation, it damped Hindoo hopes of unlimited exclusive hegemony—though in this respect it conformed with the demand of other Muslim political bodies. Finally, it had far-reaching effect on certain Caste Hindoo politicians.

Thus, the same year the Caste Hindoo leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, who, in his youth, had come under Muslim influence and therefore knew something of the beliefs of our *Jamhour*, published his proposal for the solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem and for the freedom of India. In this, he suggested the partition of India into Hindoo India and Muslim India, and the inclusion in Muslim India of Afghanistan, Western Panjab, Sind, Eastern Bengal, and other parts of India inhabited by "compact Muslim Communities"—which means at least Jammun and Kashmir and Malabar.

This meant a fundamental change in the attitude of an influential section of Caste Hindoos. It showed that, for the first time in history, some Hindoos had come openly to endorse—at least in principle—the belief of our *Jamhour*. They had come to admit the impossibility of Muslim absorption by them and the inevitability of the recognition by them of Muslim nationhood. Not only that. They had come to agree to divide India into Hindoo India and Muslim India, and to recognise Muslim sovereignty in Muslim strongholds.

It will therefore be seen that despite the exclusion from Muslim India of several inalienable territories such as Eastern Panjab and Western Bengal, the Lala's proposal was a decisive step in the right direction. In fact it was so decisive that, had it been followed by an immediate

demand for a more appropriate division of India, the history of India and of the Millat during the past quarter of a century would have been written differently. But, unfortunately, this was not done—by the Caste Hindoos for obvious reasons, but by the Muslim politicians for obscure ones. Let us hope that those of them who are still with us and who to-day are asking for a similarly limited partition will not fail to tell the public their reasons. For, a feeling persists that in ignoring the Lala's proposal a great opportunity was missed, with the result that we remained caged in India, and our nation continued to be shaped after the image of "Indianism."

This does not mean that the Lala's proposal was entirely barren. On the contrary, it had serious repercussions among both Muslims and Caste Hindoos. In our case, it reinforced our old belief in the distinct entity of our people and our lands, refixed our eyes on our homelands, and sharpened our urge for the division of India. In the case of Caste Hindoos, it intensified their efforts to keep us confined in India, changed their old, subtle appeals for "Hindoo-Muslim Union" to new, stern demands for "Hindoo-Muslim Unity," and turned their sophisticated talk of Hindoo-Muslim co-operation into sharp threats of coercing us into "Indian Unity"—a Unity which could only mean our funeral.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the tide of "Indianism" began to flow faster after 1924; and, as time passed, it rose to flood level and swept all before it. Muslim politicians, looking at it as a cow looks at a passing train, did nothing to check it by acting in the spirit of our *Jamhour's* belief, or of Lala Lajpat Rai's partition proposal; or of any policy formulated by themselves for the protection of our heritage.

This dangerous lull on the Muslim side continued till December, 1930, when it was broken by Sir Muhammad Iqbal, that immortal poet of Islam, whose poetry served as a beacon-light in the darkest period of our history and whose message will ever help us on the way to our destiny.

In his presidential address to the annual session of the All-

India Muslim League held at Allah Abad, U.P., he surveyed the India national scene, and stressed the inter-religious composition of the Indian nation. In his masterly summing up, he drew attention to the desirability of fitting the various religious communities into the life of India by giving each of them a sense of security. To that end, in so far as the Muslim community was concerned, he said:—

“Muslim India within India.”*

“Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it” [the resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference, Delhi, 1928]. “I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government [for India] within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy state.”†

To understand the true significance of this suggestion, we must note the following points:—

First, that he was specifically supporting the Muslim politicians' demand for Indian Federation, comprising all the provinces of India, including our own; for in the same address he said:—

“Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution to India's most difficult problem, *i.e.*, the communal problem.”

This shows that by the word “state” he meant not a separate or sovereign state, but a big province within and as part of the proposed Indian Federation. This is further borne out by the fact that at this time Indian Federation was actually being discussed at the Round Table Conference in London; and, as is usual in a federation, the question of calling the

* Mitra, *The Indian Annual Register*, 1930, Vol. II, p. 338.

† In the Nehru Report (p. 37) the phrase used is “unwieldy province.”

provinces of India "states" was being mooted.

Secondly, that, throughout his address, he spoke of India as a country, of Indians as a nation, and of Muslims as one of the communities of that nation. Thus in addressing himself to the Muslims, he said:—

"We Muslims have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. . . ."

and to the Hindoos, he said:—

"The unity of the Indian nation must be sought not in the negation but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. . . ."

Thirdly, that his suggestion for the amalgamation of the four provinces was obviously limited in nature and restricted in range as compared with the other suggestions already mentioned.

Lastly, that the concession of his demand for an Indian Federation—a thing against which we have been fighting since 1933—could only complicate our problems and aggravate our perils.

How?

I shall explain.

In Constitutional Law, federalism springs from the conception of the common nationality of a people. It is founded and built upon the voluntary and permanent renunciation of their distinct nationhood by all partners in favour of a common nationhood, which invariably means the nationhood of the major partner in a federation. This being the linchpin of federalism, it is obvious that the Federal Constitution asked for involved our renunciation of Pak nationhood and our acceptance of Indian nationhood. In other words, it made our absorption by the Caste Hindoos a certainty, and its acceptance by us an act of self-immolation.

However, it must be gratefully remembered that, apart from this, Iqbal's suggestion for the amalgamation of the four provinces made a profound contribution to our cause. Though it infuriated our politicians and convulsed the Caste Hindoos,

it re-inspired our people to think in terms of the consolidation of our nation, revived the issue of our future, and riveted our gaze on our homelands in the north-west of "India."

Yet, for all practical purposes, it came to nothing. It was opposed by our politicians, and repudiated by Iqbal himself. How hostile were the politicians towards it may be judged from the following statement of Malik Barkat Ali:—

"I am glad to be able to say that Sir Mohammad Iqbal has since recanted it. . . . Even if Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal had not recanted it as something which could not be put forward by any sane person, I should have emphatically and unhesitatingly repudiated it as something foreign to the genius and the spirit of the rising generation of Islam."†

No wonder therefore that Iqbal participated in framing the official Federal Constitution for India, in which not only were our people treated as a minority community of the Indian nation, but also each of the provinces he had wished to see amalgamated was treated as a mere administrative district of the Country of India.

It will therefore be seen that, so far as we are concerned, the constitutional changes from 1862 to 1931 were utterly disastrous; and so were the policies pursued by most of our political leaders and organizations, who acted either as the camp-followers of British Imperialism or as the blind imitators of the Indian National Congress. Naturally this brought us to the verge of "Indianization" and left us with no choice other than that between the dictates of British Imperialism and the decrees of Caste Hindoo Nationalism.

In these circumstances, things went from bad to worse and, with every day that passed, the cult of "Indianism" crept nearer to our masses. It pretended to stand for their interests and, in return, it hoped for their allegiance. In this it enjoyed the support of all vested and vocal interests in India. That is, the British Imperialists, who, in order to prolong their

† Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, p. 326 (1941).

regime through the British-Bania Alliance, blessed it in all acts of government; the Caste Hindoo Nationalists, who, to hasten the completion of their own hegemony, solemnized it in their preachings on "Indian Unity"; and most of the Muslim politicians, who, to satisfy their lust for careerism, succumbed to it, while some of the more "progressive" of them proudly proclaimed their conversion to it.

Such was the situation when, beginning with 1930, a series of Round Table Conferences was held in London to devise a new constitution for "India" and to these conferences were invited the government-nominated "delegates" of all "communities." In all, perhaps, 125 delegates, of whom I think 26 were Muslim, attended the Conferences and participated in their deliberations and decisions.

Now, coming events always cast their shadows before. So did the federal event, which was cleverly inspired by the British-Bania Alliance. It was clear from the outset that the real aim of the Conferences was the establishment of an Indian Federation. In other words, it was the fullest integration of the Indian nation by the final "Indianization" of our people. On this any lingering doubts were quickly removed when, after a preliminary exchange of views, it was officially announced that the new constitution for "India" would be federal.

In the light of what has already been said about the fatal effects of federalism on our distinct nationhood, it is clear that this was a dangerous, decisive development. It portended an immediate peril to the life and liberty of our nation, a peril made mortal by the attitude of Muslim delegates who had demanded Indian Federation in our name and accepted it when it was offered in London; and who were co-operating with the British-Bania Alliance in framing the Federal Constitution.

Like millions of other Muslims, I watched this development with poignant anxiety. I warned the Muslim delegates I knew that their action had obliterated the twelve

centuries of our history, destroyed the very foundations of our heritage, and crippled all hopes of the fulfilment of our mission. I begged them to realize their responsibility before Allah and His Rasool, and to withdraw their demand for the Indian Federation, withhold their participation in framing the Indian Federal Constitution, and ask for a separate federation of our north-western homelands. But all without result. There was no realization, no response. On the contrary, there was every resolve to victimise anyone who might dare to oppose or expose them and their policies.

After this disappointment, I hoped against hope that at least some prominent Muslim, not connected with the delegates, would still disown them, denounce our inclusion in the Indian Federation, and declare for our distinct nationhood in our homelands. But time passed by, the Second Round Table Conference ended, and none came forward. Yet every day saw the federal fetters grow stronger and the possibility of our escape from them grow fainter. It was incredible to me that there was such a noble task and yet no one to do it! No patrician or politician to attempt it!

The feeling gripped me that, on the failure of them all, Allah had assigned that fateful task to me; that He commanded me to do it; that He wanted me to challenge the mighty, to oppose the Indian Federation, to propose the Islamic Federation . . . Once that feeling came, it possessed me; it governed my life; it directed my activities.

Inspired by the sense of a divine mission, I reviewed the situation most solemnly and came to the conclusion that it was now or never; that any further silence would be fatal. For that would mean our general acquiescence in the policies of our "delegates." More than that. It would mean our approval both of their renunciation of our nationhood in our homelands and of their demand for and acceptance of the Indian Federation. In that realization I decided to take immediate action to save our honour and existence, and to

ensure the ultimate security and destiny of our nation in Pakistan and of our Millat in Dinia and its Dependencies.

In pursuit of that decision, I first dedicated my life to the cause of the Faith, the Fraternity, and the Fatherland, and then drafted the Declaration, "Now or Never,"* which embodied the first part of my Pak Plan. In this Declaration I condemned the acceptance by Muslim "delegates" of the Indian Federation and denounced the inclusion of our home-

* It was in this Declaration that I first used for our Indian homelands the name Pakistan, which I had invented for our combined Indian and Asian homelands, and about which the following brief explanation may be given here:—

In my early youth three fundamental truths became clear to me about the future of our people and our lands.

First, that such old names of our "Indian" homelands as the Sindh Valley, the Indus Valley, and North-Western India, were anachronistic and dangerous. They were *anachronistic* because they were the relics both of a mythology which we exploded in the 7th century A.D. and of a hegemony which we annihilated in the 8th; and they were *dangerous* because they made out our "Indian" homelands Hindooslands and our people Indian—which they had ceased to be at least twelve centuries ago. So, to my mind, these names were our worst enemies; for through them the ghosts of dead ages and of defunct hegemonies were still ruling us and ruining our nationhood in our own country.

Second, that in the modern world the recognition of our nationhood was impossible without a national name for our people and our "Indian" homelands—a name which would equally serve and suit after the reintegration of our "Indian" and "Asian" homelands—a reintegration which in my judgment was both vital and inevitable; that the absence of such a name, in the past, had proved harmful to our interests, but, in the future, would prove fatal to our existence. For, more than anything else, it would encourage the Caste Hindoos—and others—to repeat "Spain" on us, and to suck into the orbit of Indianism not only our "Indian" homelands but also our "Asian" homelands—Iran, Afghanistan, and Tukharistan.

Third, that unless and until we all in our "Indian" and "Asian" homelands, now separated by the twists and turns of history and exploited by our enemies, reintegrate ourselves into one nation under a new fraternal name, none of us whether living in the "Indian" or in the "Asian" homelands could survive and thrive in the world.

The realization of these truths created in me a solemn, surging urge to invent such a name as would reflect the soul and spirit of us all, symbolize the history and hopes of us all, strengthen the national bonds of us all, and ensure the realization of the destiny of us all. That is, a name that would detach those of us who are living in our "Indian" homelands from Indian Nationalism and re-attach us to Islamic nationalism; that would sever our artificial, national and territorial bonds with India and cement our Islamic, national and

lands in this Federation. Further, I demanded the recognition of our distinct nationhood in Pakistan and urged the creation of a Federation of Pakistan as separate from the Federation of India. Finally, I stressed the unlimited possibilities of Islamic renaissance and summoned Muslims to reject the Indian Federation, to support the demand for the Pakistan Federation, and to protect their heritage from further Indianization.

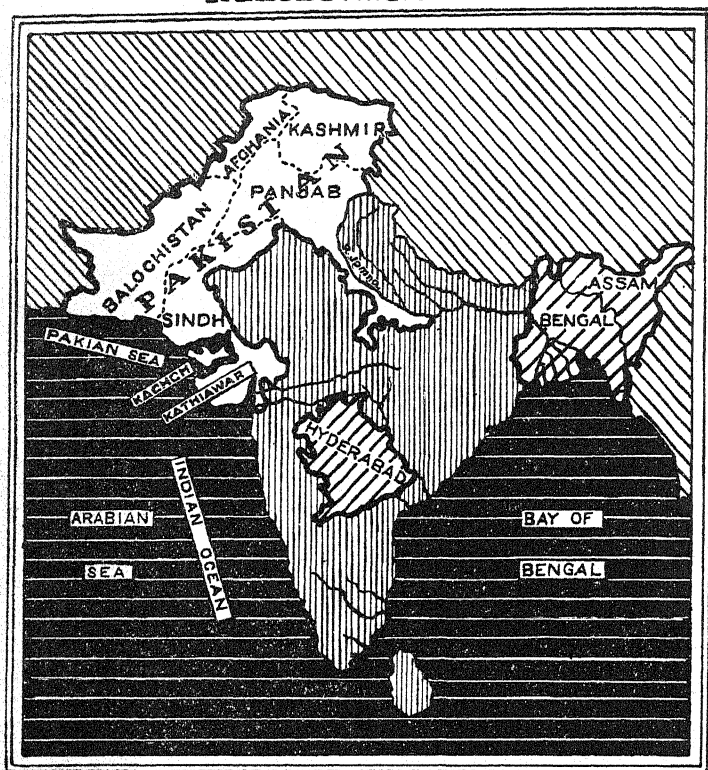
territorial ties with Iran, Afghanistan, and Tukharistan; and that would meet the challenge of Indianism and British Imperialism both to us in our Indian homelands and to our brethren in Iran, Afghanistan, and Tukharistan.

It had therefore to be a name born of all the elements of our life—spiritual and fraternal, moral and ethnical, historical and geographical, supra-regional and supra-national. In other words, it had to be charged with an irresistible, eternal appeal to the heart and head of all our people, and possessed of elemental power to seize on our being and make us all go out crusading for the Millat's Mission. For nothing short of that could generate those mighty forces which alone could ensure the liberation of us all, the transformation of some of the most important parts of India and Asia, and the fulfilment of our Millat's Mission in India and its Islands.

In view of that none could have realized more than myself that this was a herculean task; but it was also a holy task, a task of destiny, a task that had to be attempted. I undertook it years ago, and gave to it all that was in me. Neglecting my studies and renouncing every idea of a career or home, I made it the be-all and end-all of my life, and devoted to it every spark of the fire and fervour of my faith, and every particle of what knowledge and enlightenment I possessed. I observed *chillahs* and prayed for Allah's guidance. I did everything that could help the accomplishment of the task, and never lost faith in Divine guidance. I carried on till, at last, in His dispensation Allah showed me the light, and led me to the name "Pakistan" and to the Pak Plan, both of which are now animating the lives of our people.

So much for the invention of the name Pakistan. Now a word about its composition.

"Pakistan" is both a Persian and an Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all our homelands—"Indian" and "Asian." That is, Panjab, Afghanistan (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh (including Kachch and Kathiawar), Tukharistan, Afghanistan, and Balochistan. It means the land of the Paks—the spiritually pure and clean. It symbolizes the religious beliefs and the ethnical stocks of our people; and it stands for all the territorial constituents of our original Fatherland. It has no other origin and no other meaning; and it does not admit of any other interpretation. Those writers who have tried to interpret it in more than one way have done so either through love of casuistry, or through ignorance of its inspiration, origin, and composition.

PAKISTAN in 1933

To make the Declaration representative, I started a search for people who would sign it along with me. This proved to be a long and laborious search; for so firm was the grip of "Indianism" on our young intellectuals at English Universities that it took me more than a month to find three young men† in London, who, after reading and discussing the Declaration, offered to support and sign it. So, with them as my co-signatories, I issued it from my address in Cambridge on 28th January, 1933.

This Declaration and this date will be memorable in history. For, the Declaration symbolized the proclamation of our freedom from the British-Bania domination; the release of our nation from the bonds of "Minorityism," and the resumption by our Millat of her march towards her goal; and the date marked the birth-day of Pakistan, the death-day of India, and the dissolution-day of British Imperialism in India. Not only that. This Declaration on that date started an ideological revolution in the life of one-fifth of mankind living in India, a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt throughout Asia and the world.

After issuing the Declaration I took up the question of a centre of members to work for Pakistan, for the Pak Plan, and for the Pak ideology. It was obvious that such a centre could only be an organization born of that ideology and devoted to propagating the charter of "Pakism." For nothing but that could promise our deliverance, our defence, and our destiny. So I took the next step and founded the Pakistan National Movement in 1933.

Thus arose the Pakistan National Movement from the tragic events of the last ninety years. It arose to summon our people to meet a crisis no less fateful than that of 1857. It arose from and for the eternal truths of our history and of

† None of these gentlemen was a Cambridge man, as stated by writers on the subject. Khan Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak was an Oxford man; Sahibzada Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq belonged to one of the Inns of Court in London; and Khan Inayat Ullah Khan was studying at a veterinary college in England.

our hopes—truths which had hitherto been frustrated by British Imperialism, fouled by Caste Hindoo Nationalism, and forsaken by Muslim political leadership; but which now found their expression in the basic aims of the Movement.

What are the basic aims of the Movement?

These may be summarised under the following seven headings:—

First, *spiritually*, the Movement stands for:—

The completion of our mission in Pakistan and in the rest of Pakasia.

Secondly, *nationally*, it stands for:—

The fulfilment of the duty and determination of us all to live within this Pakistan under a Pak government, conducted according to Pak laws; and, on the achievement of our independence, to re-integrate this Pakistan with Iran, Afghanistan, and Tukharistan in order to re-create the original Pakistan.

The recovery of all Pak treasures and jewels, crowns and thrones, and other national heirlooms taken by the British, the Caste Hindoos, or others before and since 1857; and

The transfer to Pakistan of the remains of Emperor Abu Zafar Siraj-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, the defender of our heritage in 1857.

Thirdly, *millatally*, it stands for:—

The consolidation and recognition as sovereign nations of the Muslims of Bengal and Assam in Bangistan, of the Deccan in Osmanistan, of Bundelkhand and Malwa in Siddiqistan, of Bihar and Orissa in Faruqistan, of Hindoostan (U.P.) in Haidaristan, of Rajistan in Muinistan, of South India in Maplistan, of Western Ceylon in Safiistan, and of Eastern Ceylon in Nasaristan;

The integration of these nations together with the Pak nation into the Pak Millat; and

The consolidation of them all in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Fourthly, *fraternally*, it stands for:—

The freedom of all Muslim countries; and

The creation of a Pan-Islamic world-organization to bring together all Muslim nations and communities, all Muslim countries and regions in the world.

Fifthly, *continentally*, it stands for:—

The elevation of all "communities in the Country of India," including the Akhoots, to sovereign nationhood in their respective homelands, which must comprise their proportional areas; and

The conversion of "*the Country of India*," which means the land of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos into "*the Continent of Dinia*," which signifies the land of all faiths and fraternities found therein—Islam and Muslims, Dravidianism and Dravidians, Akhootism and Akhoots, Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, Christianity and Christians, Sikhism and Sikhs, Buddhism and Buddhs, Zoroastrianism and Parsees.

Sixthly, *culturally*, it stands for:—

The organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

Seventhly, *internationally*, it stands for:—

The recognition of the equality of status of all nations and countries in the world—a recognition which is an absolute pre-requisite of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

Such, in brief, are the basic aims of the Pakistan National Movement. From these it is clear that the Movement is the bearer of a message of honour and independence, of integration and equality to our people in Pakistan as to all other

peoples in their homelands, of Millatism to our brethren in the other lands of Pakasia, of Fraternalism to the Muslim world, and of friendship and goodwill to the whole of Mankind. In consciousness of its responsibility before history, it is preparing the Paks to translate this message into fact. In other words, it is inspiring them to rise again in Pakistan and reintegrate their country within its ancient frontiers, to resume their divine mission in Dinia, to change for ever the 34-century-old course of the history of Pakasia, and to re-occupy their place in the conduct of world affairs. For, this is demanded by the supreme interests not only of the Pak nation in Pakistan, of the Pak Millat in Pakasia, and of the Fraternity in the world, but also of the rest of Mankind, which they are all pledged to serve through the teachings of Islam.

NOTE

Apart from the general vilification of the Movement with which we have dealt in this chapter, our enemies have made some other malicious allegations which we shall answer in this note—and challenge them to contradict any of the following statements.

First, they have suggested that at the time the “Now or Never” Declaration was issued in 1933, it did not create much impression. This is at once a spiteful and a stupid suggestion.

It is a spiteful suggestion because even a glance at the Press will show that the Declaration had a profound effect. While it was acclaimed by our people as a message of deliverance; it was condemned by our politicians as “only a student’s scheme, chimerical and impractical”^{*}; by the Caste Hindoos as “communalism at its worst”; and by the British as “unrepresentative and irresponsible, and aiming at the revival of the Mughal Empire.” No one in his senses would call this reaction negligible. True, it was more hostile than favourable; but that doesn’t make it any the less profound. The hostility was expected. It was typical of the parties concerned; it was true to the teachings of history; and it conformed to the dictum that the greater the idea, the stronger the opposition to it.

It is a stupid suggestion because, even if true, it could not make any difference. For in all fateful issues what matters is not the first reaction, but the last; and even in that the decisive thing is not the reaction of others, but one’s own to theirs. If one is dismayed by it, one is lost; if not, one is saved. So no amount of apathy or opposition could have shaken my conviction that the Declaration would alter the age-old course of the history of India and of Asia; that Muslim politicians,

^{*} *Minutes of Evidence* given by the representatives of the All-India Muslim League before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on *Indian Constitutional Reform* (Session 1932-33), Vol. IIc, p. 1496, published by His Majesty’s Stationery Office, London, 1934.

who belittled it, would soon have to support it and like myself seek their salvation through it; and that the British and Caste Hindoos, who condemned it, would before long have to concede its demands. This conviction was as unshakable as the one I have to-day about my other Declarations, including those demanding the creation of Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, the Alam and Ameen Islands, the Ashar and Balus Islands, the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, the Continent of Dinia, and last but not least the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

Secondly, they have insinuated that I was put to work for Pakistan by British Imperialists. This is a wicked lie. To expose its falsehood I need state only three facts.

(A) The British Imperialists—Conservative, Liberal, and Socialist—all opposed Pakistan in 1933 when the Declaration was issued. In fact, their Coalition Government was staking its life on the Indian Federation Scheme, and the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood), was straining every nerve to push the whole Federal project through the Round Table Conferences and Parliament.

The Members of Parliament, who asked questions about the Declaration in the House of Commons or at the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1933, did so not to support it, but to show Hindoo-Muslim differences and to sabotage the freedom of both the Hindoo Jati and the Muslim Millat in India.

It should be clearly understood that the reference in the chapter even to the negative British reaction to the Declaration is based not on my personal talks with British politicians, because I had none, but on their formal postal replies to the Declaration which, like our subsequent literature, was sent to all Members of Parliament, as well as to the Caste Hindoos, Akhoots, Sikhs, and others.

(B) Again, in 1933, when the Declaration was issued, there were, apart from Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference, scores of other Muslim politicians in England,

and most of them were title-holders, collaborators, and office-bearers in political organizations. Surely, even if the Imperialists had wanted some stooges, they would have turned to them, not to a mere student like myself, even if I had been capable of playing that role—a role which I would not play even for my life. They would have done this because, in so great a matter as the future of 100 million Muslims and the Constitution of India, the names of such politicians would have carried far more weight than those of students like myself and my co-signatories.

(c) Finally, the partition of India demanded by me in 1933 and now demanded by 100 million Muslims was and is the surest way to finish British Imperialism, and therefore no Imperialist could be so foolish as “to put anyone to dig its grave.” This view that the partition of India means the end of Imperialism is not confined to Muslims alone, but, as already shown, it has been held also by some Caste Hindoo leaders including Lala Lajpat Rai, who nine years before me suggested partition to Hindoos and Muslims as the only way to ensure Indian freedom from British Imperialism. Surely even the insinulators will admit that what was a sincere suggestion when made by a Hindoo could not, even by their standards, be called a stooge’s demand when made by a Muslim.

Thirdly, the statement that when issuing the Declaration I secretly tried to enlist the support of some British politicians for Pakistan is absolutely devoid of truth. I never did any such thing, directly or indirectly, and this on principle. Such tactics are fatal to causes. Politicians may employ them, but missionaries shun them.

Lastly, the hint that some magnate or millionaire was or is behind us is utterly false. No such person has ever been associated with us. On the contrary, we have been a body of ordinary Muslims with ordinary means, means which we had to husband so carefully that from the beginning I had to

decide to print only some of the most important declarations and to issue in typescript all other literature, including even the first two editions of this book. This was to reduce to the minimum our expenditure, which from 1933 to 1939 was shared by those of our members who could afford to, though the overall responsibility was and has always been my own. After 1939, to make the Movement self-supporting, I had to dispense even with that and to rule that, in future, apart from the membership subscriptions, the only acceptable contributions to the funds of the Movement even from old members would be the price of literature which they might buy for personal distribution. That is all. The income from this source coupled with that from the membership subscriptions and the general sale of literature through booksellers has, with some contributions from me, sufficed for our work, including the free supply of *lacs* of copies of our propaganda literature to such people all over the world who may be interested in it.

It seems that this success has so shocked our enemies that they are making crazy statements about how we managed it. Some of them mention Imperialists as our financiers; some, princes; and some, capitalists. This shows only the spiteful ignorance of them all. They have no idea of what can be achieved by ordinary Muslims with ordinary means, but with extraordinary devotion. Let me tell them that such is the spiritual inspiration of Islam that material limitations have never thwarted the work of Muslims; that some of the greatest achievements of our history have been the result of the efforts of ordinary Muslims; and that so far as we are concerned this success which has given our enemies such a shock will not be our last; for our cause is now more popular, our membership larger and our literature in greater demand than ever before. So, in spite of all opposition—even from our own politicians—just as we have established the cause of Pakistan and Bangistan, so we are going to establish that of Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, the Alam and Ameen Islands, the Ashar and Balus Islands, the

Pak Commonwealth of Nations, the Continent of Dinia, and the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia. They had therefore better prepare themselves for still greater shocks and, also, give up their cherished hope about the exhaustion of my personal resources. For, unfortunately for them, that hope is at once false and foolish. It is false because, despite their meanest attempts to destroy my personal resources, these are still sufficient for my work. It is foolish because, first, no institution is ever run solely with the personal resources of its founder; and secondly, its success depends not on his coppers, but on his faith and inspiration. If he possesses these, it can never fail, even if he is a pauper; if he does not, it can never succeed, even if he is a millionaire. How far I possess them is not for me to say; this is for history. All I can say is that whatever I had, I dedicated to the Cause in 1933. I could do no more; but I would do no less. For, the Cause commanded it. Not only that. It commanded also my life—and that too has been at its disposal ever since, and will remain so to my last breath.

PART IV

Pakistan and The World

NOTE

The first five chapters in this Part were originally issued separately as Declarations, most of which passed through several editions. They are incorporated in this book, in their final form, as embodying my message to the Millat, to her Minorities in the Hindoo-majority regions of Dinia and in Ceylon, and to all other peoples whose existence is menaced by the aggressive forces of "Indianism."

NOTE

In response to many requests, the full text of the speech I made to a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Pakistan National Movement held at Karachi on 8th March, 1940, is issued here in pamphlet form.

It sums up the epochal choice before the Millat, warns her against the dangers of casting in her lot with "India," and sets forth the second part of the Pak Plan for her permanent defence against the aggression of "Indianism." Finally, it invites all Muslim parties to adopt, and to work for the realisation of, this Plan, which alone promises the ultimate fulfilment of the Millat's mission in South Asia.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

First published, 1940

Second impression, 1941

Third impression, 1942

Fourth impression, 1943

A summary of the Statement was issued to the Associated Press of India on 22nd March, 1940, and was published in both the Pakistani and the Indian Press.

CHAPTER XVI

AFTER 1,302 YEARS

THE MILLAT OF ISLAM AND THE MENACE OF "INDIANISM"

Choice between Re-construction in Asia and Re-destruction in "India"

NEW DAWN OR TWILIGHT ?

Hazrat!†

We meet at a solemn moment in the history of the Pakistan National Movement. To us the moment is solemn because now, according to all signs and indications, the Millat understands the mission of the Movement. More than that. She appreciates its work and looks to it for guidance.

This, indeed, is the dispensation of Allah: the divine reward for our humble efforts made in support of the first part of the Pak Plan. I mean the part relating to the moral revival of national consciousness among our masses and to the political restoration of our Fatherland, Pakistan. Naturally, it encourages us not only to continue our labours in that sphere, but also to initiate the second part of the Plan. That is, the Part pertaining to Bengal and Assam and to Osmanistan (Hyderabad-Deccan). So, from now onwards we will devote ourselves to the cause of all the three strongholds which are arbitrarily included in the Bi-national Sub-continent of "India" and seriously menaced by the great and growing forces of "Indianism."

I feel sure we all realise that on this occasion our first duty is to review the whole situation, pointing out its perils and indicating its opportunities, and, then, to place the next part

†Gentlemen,

of the Plan before the Millat, explaining its vital importance to her future and appealing to all Muslim parties to work together in unity for its fulfilment. Because, without the unity of purpose, plan, and effort, there is neither success nor survival for any one of us.

Let us, therefore, start with a clear idea as to where we stand and what we face. And, to that end, if we look around with discerning eyes and comprehending minds, we shall know at once that we stand at the parting of the ways and face the sternest ordeal of all time. This, in a word, is the grim reality of our present position. It has no parallel in our annals. It is true that in the thirteen centuries of our history we have known hard tests and, indeed, accomplished historic tasks; but, surely, none of those was so vast and vital, so fundamental and fateful as that which confronts us to-day.

The Choice

It is a test of life and death. It touches the roots of our spiritual heritage, involves the foundations of our Pakistan, and encompasses the fortunes of our Millat throughout South Asia. Thus it is a trumpet summons to us to make our conclusive choice between the noblest national status under Islam and the meanest minority position under "Indianism"; between the historic, thirteen-century-old "Crescent and Stars" of the Millat—the sacred symbol and proud protector of our destiny—and the embryonic, eleven-year-old "Tri-Colour" of "Indianism"—the sinister portent and dark sign of our fate—and, finally, between the honourable role of sovereignty inside Asia and the miserable lot of slavery within "India."

Let us mark it well. This is the only choice. It has to be one or the other. It cannot be both.

Heroes or Helots?

What, then, will it be? Will it be the choice of the heroes of Islam who ever sacrificed their all for the Millat's honour and independence, or of the helots of careerism who always subordinated her life and liberty to alien domination?

Again, will it be the choice of the soulful patriots who saved our right to distinct nationhood in Pakistan, or of the heartless plutocrats who, in the name of Indian federalism, renounced it throughout the Bi-national Sub-continent of " India " ? In short, will it be the choice of the selfless men who, for the sake of the Faith, the Fatherland, and the Fraternity, plan and prepare our national struggle against " Indianism," or of the selfish minions who, for their own personal aims and family gains, propose, preach, and practise our wholesale submission to it?

Well, whether we choose one or the other, we must make up our minds quickly; for the events are moving swiftly and there is no more time to waste. Already the solemn hour has struck and the supreme trial of our faith and fibre, of our sincerity and sanity, and of our declarations and deeds is near at hand. And, presently, we are going to be weighed so sternly in the iron scales of eternal values that even the spirits of our martyrs and heroes call upon us to make sure that this time we are not found wanting.

Warnings of History

Inspired by this consciousness, let us, in all humility, bow our haughty heads before Allah, commit our self-approving consciences to Him, and pray for His divine guidance. And, then, as we rise to our feet and face the scales, do let us remember one thing and know another.

The first is that in " India " we failed once before and the consequences were simply catastrophic. Spiritually, that failure ruined the beneficent work of twelve centuries and wrecked the wonderful organisation of our Milli life. Morally, it corrupted the standards of our Islamic values and portrayed baseness as nobility, humiliation as humility, cant as creed, and renegation as regeneration. Politically, it deprived us of our imperial supremacy, dispossessed us of our national sovereignty, and degraded us to a " minority community." And now, in eternal warning to us, it remains recorded in letters of blood and fire in the pages of history. That we must remember.

The second is that if we fail to-day and fall for "Indianism," the sequel will be fatal beyond redemption. As a nation, it will mean our doom without a morrow, leaving not even a glimmer of hope for our revival. The reason is that, in contrast with what we lost eighty years ago, we shall forfeit to-day even our body and soul, and, in the end, ignominiously go down to posterity as the only self-betrayed, self-condemned, and self-crucified people of all time. This we must know. Why?

Because, at this juncture only the instruction offered by these two things can save us from the abyss.

Facts versus Fantasies

Let us, therefore, learn the lesson and act like enlightened men who know that any compromise on the supreme issue of our national freedom cannot but be fatal to our future. For, in all human certainty, if once we agree to remain within "India," we shall, for ever, rot in subjection to "Indianism." I mean the "Indianism" that is being solemnly canonised into a new cult by its clever devotees, the Indian nationalists; cringingly accepted by its miserable creatures, the Muslim careerists; and cruelly supported by its self-seeking patrons, the British Imperialists.

Bad enough indeed, but that is not all. Worse still is the fact that, in one form or another, even our foremost politicians present their duty and pay their homage to this "Indianism." To realise that one has simply to look at the hare-brained schemes of cultural cantons, economic enclaves, linguistic zones, social spheres, and provincial domains—schemes which they have produced for our safety. With tragic irony, one and all of them, though in theory pretending to be prompted by the sacred creed of "Self-determination," in practice are perpetrating the satanic crime of "Self-extermination."

How?

I shall explain. In the world to-day it is the territorial unit which defines the position of a nation, the jurisdiction of a

state, and the domain of a sovereignty. This is axiomatic as, also, is the fact that all of our present anxieties and alarms in "India" originate in the mischievous myth of "Indian" territorial unity; and that, unless and until this myth is, once and for all, exploded, there is no hope for us.

These are plain truths, and if, in their light, we analyse these fantastic schemes we shall find that each one of them springs from the postulate of the territorial unity of "India" and consequently supports, and submits our future to, the paramountcy of "Indianism."

In these schemes this is the most fatal flaw and it is a pity that, despite our repeated warnings against it, the authors of the schemes do not realise that, on the premise of the territorial unity of "India," "Indianism" will create the central government, control its civil administration, and command its military arm; and that if, and when, sure of its power, it will, in the name of democracy and with the help of British bayonets, make use of that power to coerce and crush us—its prey—into complete captivity.

Surely, "Indianism" knows that and calmly awaits its time. The question is: Do we also know that? If so, we know something. If not, we know nothing.

In any case, let us make no mistake about it. Mean and miserable is the fate that awaits us all under its aegis. I say all, princes and peasants, premiers and *patwaris*, "majority" provinces and "minority" provinces, and powerful states and petty estates. It may be worse, but it cannot be better.

Duty and its Demand

In the face of this fearful certainty what is our duty? Surely it is to keep our grip on the essentials of this supreme issue and to be guided in our choice neither by the federal fantasies of the Anglo-Hindoo *entente* nor by the cartographical fallacies of our purblind politicians, but only by the fundamental facts of our own national safety and salvation.

This applies to us all without exception. Let us, therefore, hope that at least those people and parties, including the

All-India Muslim League, which at long last now claim for the Millat a nationality distinct from the "Indians," but still cling to "India" and call her their "Common Motherland," will re-examine the central issue in the light of the serious implications of their present position. A position which, with all deference to them, is at once foolish, false, and fatal.

It is foolish in the name of logic, because, at one and the same time, how can they be "half-Indian" and "half non-Indian"? That is, "territorially" Indian, but "nationally" non-Indian; again, "internationally" Indian, but "internally" non-Indian. This is the madness of mongrelism run amok. It crippled the Millat in the past and would kill her in the future. Let them beware of that.

It is false in the name of history because "India" never was, and never will be, the "Muslim Motherland." To believe otherwise is the acme of absurdity; and it merely betrays their ignorance of the verities of the Millat's life.

It is fatal in the name of safety because, in view of all the constitutional canons and political criteria, past experiences and future prospects, to accept the territorial unity of "India" is to fasten the tyrannical yoke of "Indianism" on the Millat. This is the "writing on the wall" for us all.

For heaven's sake, let them remove their blinkers and open their eyes. The issue is crystal-clear and admits only of a clear-cut answer. Either they are "Indian" or they are not. If they are, let them be consistent and live in, and abide by, "India." That is, embrace "Indianism" and submit to "Pax Indica." A capitulation which the Jati* will welcome, but the Millat will oppose, and History will record as "Boabdilism."† If they are not, let them be decisive and abandon "India." That is, live to sever all ties with "India," to save the Millat from "Indianism," and to serve "Pax Islamica." A stand which the Jati will oppose, but the Millat will support, and History will acclaim as "Mujahidism."‡

*Hindu nation (literally, a collection of castes).

†Blind careerism.

‡The "Crusader-spirit."

The Movement and The Millat

This is not to ignore the significant change which, thanks to the inspiring message of the Pakistan National Movement, has, slowly but surely, come over the policies and programmes of most of the Muslim institutions. Nor is it to overlook the remarkable fact that these institutions have now definitely adopted the "Bi-national Basis" which, since 1933, the Movement has persistently put before the Millat. On the contrary. It is simply to impress upon them the solemn truth that "Bi-nationalism" being only the first half of the "Movement's Fundamental Creed," they must, if they are in earnest, adopt also the other half—the "de-Indianisation" of the Millat's territories. For only by its full adoption can the Millat be saved.

The Movement and its Fundamental Creed

What is the "Fundamental Creed" of the Movement? It is that we are Muslim, not Hindoo; Paks, not Hindoostani; and Asian, not "Indian"; that, in retrospect, the "India of to-day" is the "South Asia of yesterday"; but, in prospect, it is the sphere of the individual solidarity of several nations of to-morrow; that, at present, "India" is the arbitrary name of the British Empire in South Asia, but, in future, it will be the natural designation of the national home of the Hindoos in India proper (Hindoostan); that as this Empire is composed of several countries of South Asia, of which India proper (Hindoostan) is only a minor unit, no system of government, whether inspired by the Gladstonian soul of British Imperialism or by the Gandhian spirit of Indian nationalism, or by the grasping capitalism of both, can ever succeed unless it recognises, and guarantees, the distinct nationhood of all the nations living therein; and, finally, that, in so far as we are concerned, we will accept only that political solution which is based upon the aforesaid eternal verities—verities which inspire the "Creed of the Movement" and ensure the sovereign status of Pakistan, of Bengal, and of Osmanistan.

This is the fundamental creed of the Pakistan National Movement. It springs from the eternal truths of history, respects the freedom of the other nations in the Sub-continent, and promises us our defence, deliverance, and destiny. If we are true to our mission, we must accept it in entirety, get it irrevocably fixed in our minds, and make it the soul of our political philosophy, the steel of our political strategy, and the slogan of our political struggle.

How To Do It?

That raises the question of its practical application and thus brings us to the crux. Let us face it with courage and conviction. Here the most important thing to remember is that, in the law of Nature, "inner realisation" always precedes "outer recognition." This is absolute. To it there are no exceptions. It is, therefore, most essential that before we can expect others to recognise "the Fundamental Creed" we must first realise it ourselves. That is, act upon it in thought, in word, and in deed. For that alone will revive our Milli spirit, recreate our Milli front, and reveal to our Milli eye that "Indianism" is the greatest menace to our national existence; and that, to meet and to master it, we must put first things first and make sure of our foundations. If the foundations stand, the whole edifice stands, but if they fall, then everything falls. Trite, but true.

What, then, are the political foundations of our heritage in the Sub-continent, the immediate safety of which will ensure the ultimate security of the Millat?

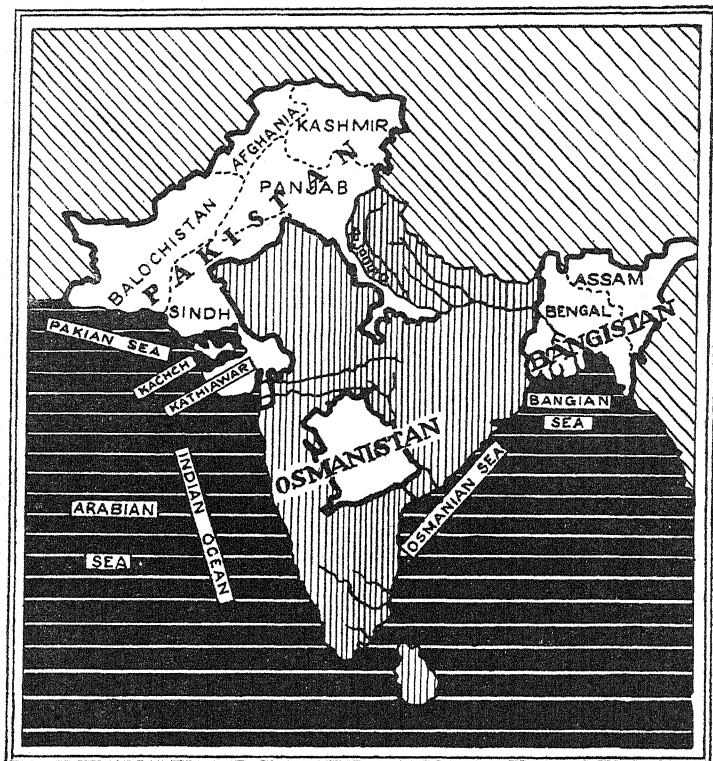
Obviously they are Pakistan, Bengal, and Osmanistan.

I shall discuss them in this order.

Pakistan—1933

In regard to Pakistan, the whole world knows that, in 1933, the Pakistan National Movement took the historic step of proclaiming, and demanding the recognition of, her separation from Hindoostan; that, thereby, it firmly laid the basis of defence of the 35,000,000 Muslims living in the five provinces—

The PAK MILLAT in 1940



the Panjab, Afghanistan (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sindh, and Balochistan; and that though, at the time, its action was strongly criticised and condemned, it is now fully acknowledged that, in doing so, it saved the cause of the Millat, changed the course of her history, and gave a newer and nobler direction to her future.

This, however, is only part of the story. For, as is well-known, Pakistan was merely the first step of the Movement towards its final objective, which is, and has ever been, the permanent defence of our entire Millat against the persistent dangers of "Indianism." Consequently, to this end, it has, in the past, been quietly working and calmly preparing the ground. And now that its work has borne fruit and made all parties conscious of the Millat's position—and perils—it deems the time propitious for the next decisive step and, formally and publicly, calls upon the people to undertake also the vital task of saving Bengal and of strengthening Osmanistan.

Self-Determination in Bengal

Let us take Bengal first.

To us, Bengal, with its hinterland of Assam, is "Bang-i-Islam," and it must, therefore, be preserved as such for posterity.

Fortunately, in Bengal, as in Pakistan, we constitute a majority of the population. This fact is of mighty importance. It gives us the saving right of "Self-determination," which, in principle, none can question. History created it; "majority" confirms it; and destiny claims it. Yes, even the democratic doctrine of sovereignty—so favoured by the Anglo-Hindoo *entente*—concedes it.

So far, so good; but not good enough for our purpose. Because it is all "theory," not "practice." As we know to our cost, the practice is exactly the opposite. The Anglo-Hindoo *entente* has denied this right by reducing our numerical majority to political minority, and our national status to the

position of a "community." Worse. To all intents and purposes, it seems determined to perpetuate the injustice underlying the present state of affairs.

This is one of the bitter fruits of our own faults and follies, of our own "doings, non-doings, and misdoings" in the past. It could hardly be otherwise; for when the Indians worked, struggled, and suffered to secure their rights, we just dreamed, babbled, and talked about them here as elsewhere. Again, when they sacrificed for their cause their careers in the cabinets, in the councils, and in the "services," we simply compromised our cause itself for the sake of the careers of a few individuals in politics and in government posts. Is it any wonder then that to-day they possess more than their rights and dominate the whole Sub-continent; while we lose even our minimum rights and are in danger in our own strongholds?

Such is the actual position to-day. Then, what of the future? The unescapable moral for the future is that our right of "Self-determination" in Bengal will have to be won anew; and that, to do this, we shall have to start and build up a national movement on the soil of Bengal herself.

This movement will serve as the symbol of our national status, as the standard-bearer of our national struggle, and as the new centre and rallying-point of our national forces. Thus, it will itself first realise the right of "Self-determination," then declare it before the world, and, finally, prepare the people to work for its recognition by the Anglo-Hindoo *entente*. This is the foremost prerequisite of the success of our struggle for freedom in Bengal. With it, we can achieve all; but without it, nothing.

Let no one make light of this counsel. It comes to us from the very heart of our history. We must pay heed to it. It is indispensable to our being and well-being, both of which are in peril to-day.

To realise its full significance we must remember that our fall in the past was due not so much to our wickedness as to our weakness. Weakness in our national lands led to greater

weakness throughout our Empire and that, in its turn, caused an all-embracing disaster. It is, therefore, imperative that, in the future reconstruction of our people, which can now only be in widely separated lands, we must take care to make every unit as firm in foundations, as strong in structure, and as self-sufficient in every respect as possible.

This is the wisest policy; but it is a policy which is only practicable if we have a national organisation in every national stronghold. Not otherwise.

So it is evident that the creation of a Bengal National Movement is the most urgent duty imposed by the fates upon the honour and patriotism of our leaders in Bengal. I devoutly hope and believe that, conscious of their solemn responsibility before Allah and His Rasool, they will at once discharge it in the highest spirit of their sincere professions of service to the Millat.

The hour is historic and so is the task. May they ever remember that upon their moral realisation and active fulfilment of this task, more than upon any other single factor, depends not only the immediate future of the thirty million Muslims living in Bengal, but, also, the ultimate fortunes of the Millat's mission in the whole of South Asia!

Sovereignty of Osmanistan

After Bengal, we turn to Osmanistan. Though a state, Osmanistan is part of our patrimony; and, as such, her future is inseparably bound up with that of the Millat.

At the very outset of this discussion it is advisable to state the pivotal fact that we derive our right to Osmanistan from those canons of International law from which other nations derive their claims to their domains; that this right includes her *de jure* sovereignty which is solemnly acknowledged in the treaties originally entered into between the British Government and the 'Ala Hazrat of Osmanistan, the "Faithful Ally"; and that this status is unique in the Sub-continent, in that no other state enjoys it, in the same sense and to the same extent, as Osmanistan.

These facts and factors constitute our title-deeds to Osmanistan. The question is, what use have we made of them for her good? Scarcely any, I should say; because, in the past eighty years, we have simply slept over them and left them exposed to the wrath of time and to the ravages of treachery.

Small wonder then that the sequel is now told in the subtle and sinister moves to make her participate in Indian life. It may be argued that these moves are not coercive, but persuasive; that they are not arbitrary, but constitutional. My answer to that is that their character or complexion is not the point. The essential point is that they exist—and persist; and that should they ever succeed, Osmanistan would be lost for good.

What, then, is our defence against these moves? To answer this question we must first look at the calendar and realise that this is, after all, the year 1940. That should convince us beyond a shadow of doubt that the days are gone when we could have achieved satisfactory results through such petty manœuvres of "reciprocal guarantees" and "political safeguards within India," as are popular in certain circles.

Surely now there is only one proper answer to this soul-searching question and only one permanent defence against these sinister moves, namely, a sustained constitutional struggle by the Osmanistanis for the *de facto* recognition of her *de jure* sovereignty. For only that recognition—and nothing else—promises security. The sooner we realise this, the better for us all.

Obviously to do this, we must have an organisation; because a struggle without an organisation is impossible. It has never succeeded and never will succeed.

It must, therefore, be stated plainly that if, in the be-devilled circumstances of to-day, Osmanistan is to be saved, the Osmanistanis must start an organisation to work for the *de facto* recognition of her *de jure* sovereignty by the British as well as by their presumptive heirs, the Hindoos—both of whom profess to be the most devoted supporters of the sanctity of international treaties.

This is the only way to safeguard Osmanistan and along it lies the greatest opportunity for the Osmanistanis. But the time to seize it is now; because, once gone, it may never occur again. May they grasp it at once and turn it to their own good and to the greater good of Osmanistan!

Some Moral Truths

So much, in broad basic outline, for the political defence of these countries. Now a word about their moral aspect, which, after all, has its own importance in the affairs of men—and of nations.

As we look at Bengal and Osmanistan from the moral standpoint, we find that both these countries are clear-cut territorial units, created by those eternal forces which make the entities, mark the identities, and mould the destinies of nations. That is why they have stood the test of time and have been treated as distinct lands by the historians throughout the ages. And—more important—even to this day, they remain different from Hindoostan in character, in culture, and in composition as well as in geography, in history, and in ideology.

It is well to recall these facts. They refresh the memory and fortify the mind. It will be better if the apostles of "Indianism" also will remember—and reflect on—them; for they spell the decrees of Nature, speak the language of eternity, and remain indelibly imprinted on the faces of these countries. It is not for mortals to deny or defy them.

However, we must draw the attention of the Indians to the fact that, in view of their past history, present position, and future hopes, the incorporation of Bengal and of Osmanistan into "India" would be the greatest injustice of modern times, and one that would ever cry for redress to the Millat and haunt the Hindoos like an avenging ghost. It is, therefore, to be profoundly hoped that, both in their own interests and in ours, they will not be guilty of it, especially when, like Pakistan, the restoration of these lands to their rightful positions on the map involves no revision of the boundaries of India proper,

no redistribution of her territories, no fresh demarcation of her provinces, and no exchange of her populations. Because all that it does involve is merely the recognition of their historic status which is born of the unique services and sacrifices of the Millat.

Will the Indians recognise that and earn the lasting friendship of the Millat or will they reject it and embitter the atmosphere for ever?

Pakistan, Bengal, and Osmanistan

Be that as it may, our duty is clear. We must do all we can to recover our lost position in the world by saving our people from the serfdom of "Indianism" and our lands from the shackles of its provincialism. When that is done, we must—and we will—build on the solid and secure foundations of Pakistan, Bengal, and Osmanistan three independent nations which will be larger, bigger, and more powerful than any that ever existed in our history.

This is what the Pakistan National Movement proposes, and plans, for the future of the Millat. I do hope and trust that the Millat also will take to her heart—and to her head—the ideology of the Movement, the clear-sighted acceptance of which is most vital to her life to-day and to her mission to-morrow.

Their Co-ordination

Finally, we come to the vital issue of the inter-relationship of Pakistan, Bengal, and Osmanistan. This is important because the adoption, the prosecution, and the implementation of the Pak Plan will ultimately raise the question of the co-ordination of our struggle in our strongholds. I propose that this question be solved by the creation of an international organisation that will be dedicated, both in name and in spirit, to the realisation of the new destiny envisaged for the Millat by the Pakistan National Movement.

We all know that, at the moment, our only central institution is the All-India Muslim League which was founded at a time

when we foolishly linked our fate to "India." But we must admit that now when we wisely want to sever our ties with "India" and seek our future in Asia, it has become an anachronism and a fatal one at that. For its very name bears the stamp of "Indianism" and so belies our struggle against "Indianism." Worse. It breeds the spirit of "Indianism" and thus betrays our Millat to "Indianism."

Let us not minimise the effect and importance of names. They are the distinguishing marks and, as such, establish the identities of their bearers. More than that. They are the moral symbols and, as symbols, serve as the sources of inspiration. So, to be true of individuals and of institutions, they must reflect their spirit; otherwise they reject their being.

This, in a word, is their philosophy. We believe in it. That is why we turn to our saints and sages for the names of our children, of our houses, and of our estates. How I wish we had done the same when we acquired our strongholds and founded our institutions in the Sub-continent. For had we done that, many a failure and frustration would have been avoided; many a danger and difficulty would not have arisen at all.

This mistake has certainly cost us dear. It has compromised our nationality and labelled us all as "Indian." I say this, not because there is anything wrong with the word "Indian" which, in itself, is perhaps as respectable as any other name; but because we are not "Indian," and, therefore, for us to style ourselves or our institutions "Indian," is nothing but an act of renegeation.

The truth is that it was the realisation of this fact that inspired me to formally name in 1933 the five north-western strongholds, *Pakistan*; and in 1937, Bengal and Assam, *Bang-i-Islamistan*; and Hyderabad-Deccan, *Osmanistan*.

Alliance of Three Nations

Again it is the very same realisation that now impels me to submit that, if we really wish to rid ourselves of "Indianism,"

to re-establish our nationhood as distinct from "India," and to link our national domains to one another as South Asiatic countries, we must scrap the All-India Muslim League as such and create instead an alliance of the nations of Pakistan, Bengal, and Osmanistan. For this alone would set the final seal on our separation from "India," inspire the Millat, and impress the world as nothing else could.

That done, we would have stood the test and made the choice. We would have achieved the supreme unity of purpose, plan, and effort in our strongholds. We would have given a new birth to our sacred cause in South Asia. And, then, inspired by the solemn conviction in our historic mission and united under the Crescent and Stars of our Millat, we would carry through our fight to final victory.

Hazrat! This is the only road to our destiny in Asia under Islam. Pray Allah we may take it while there is yet life—and light!

For the Glory of the Faith!

For the Good of the Fatherland!

For the Greatness of the Fraternity!

NOTE

The statement, *The Millat and The Mission*, issued here in a slightly abridged form, inaugurates Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of The Pak Plan and embodies the answer of the Pakistan National Movement to the challenge of the current revolution to the future of Islam throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

So, ideologically, it constitutes a landmark in the struggle of the Movement and, actually, it ranks with the Declarations of Destiny that have made history. That is, "*Now or Never*" which, in 1933, introduced Part I of The Pak Plan to meet the crisis created by the Indian Federation Scheme, and "*The Millat of Islam and The Menace of Indianism*" which, in 1940, initiated Part II to counteract the renewed danger of Indian Nationalism to Muslim National life and liberty throughout the Continent of Dinia.

C. RAHMAT ALI

First issued in October, 1942

Reissued in January, 1943

Printed Edition in August, 1944

Reissued in June, 1945

CHAPTER XVII

THE MILLAT AND THE MISSION

How To Fulfil It

*Seven Commandments of Destiny
for
The "Seventh" Continent of Dinia*

- I. Avoid "Minorityism."
- II. Avow Nationalism.
- III. Acquire Proportional Territory.
- IV. Consolidate the Individual Nations.
- V. Co-ordinate them in a "Pak Commonwealth of Nations."
- VI. Convert "India" into "Dinia."
- VII. Organize "Dinia" and its Dependencies into "Pakasia."

Pakasians!

For the third time within one lifetime the universe is passing through a revolution. Think about it. It is a revolution which is as much a challenge to the Millat as to the rest of mankind. For just as the first catastrophe shook the whole world to its foundations and the second shattered the fabric of its polity, this, the third, spells the re-construction of its very life.

Critical Period of History

So we must realize that we are living in a critical period of history and witnessing the events that will make or mar us for centuries to come. This is no exaggeration. On the contrary, it is the barest truth. For it is sun-clear that if even this time we repeat the blunder of thinking and acting in terms of persons, parties, and princes, all hope of our revival as a Millat will vanish. On the other hand, it is certain that if we think and act in terms of the Faith, the Fraternity, and the Fatherlands, we shall achieve the sovereign freedom of the

Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. That is, the twin ideals which have been bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and the achievement of which is vital to both our history and our hopes in Pakasia.

Our First Duty

Obviously, therefore, in these crucial days our first and foremost duty is to seek instruction from our history and, in its light, try to save and secure our future. In other words, it is to review the consequences of the past revolutions, to preview those of the current one, and to prepare ourselves to cope with them at the earliest possible opportunity.

No doubt, this is an extremely difficult duty. It demands absolute devotion and creative work, infinite wisdom and enlightened boldness. But this must not daunt us, for it is a duty that Destiny always assigns to peoples like us who live to fulfil a mission in the world, and who are, therefore, eternally dedicated to its discharge. Indeed, for any nation, whether with or without a mission, to shirk it is to commit suicide.

Let us, therefore, in this spirit of eternal dedication, try to do this duty and begin with the consequences of the first revolution.

Sequel of the First Revolution

We know to our cost that the first revolution reduced our Fraternity from the position of a mighty force to that of a medium factor in the power-politics of the world. Further, it punished our Millat for the blunder of following "Dynasticism," of fraternizing with "Indianism," and of establishing a heterogeneous state in the Continent of Dinia. Furthermore, it eclipsed our nations in Pakistan, Bangistan,† and Osmanistan and extinguished our empire in Dinia; upset the equilibrium of Asia to our disadvantage as a people and started a new cycle in the history of the world.

† Bangistan is the abbreviation of *Bang-i-Islamistan*, of which the root name, as originally announced by the author in 1937, is *Bang-i-Islam* for the combined territories of Bengal and Assam and *Bangsamia* for the Hindoo part therein.

Small wonder, therefore, that at the end of this revolution, while our Pak nations were sinking into the obscurity of defeat and downfall, new ones were rising to eminence in the comity of nations; again, while our composite, ramshackle domains were crashing into the abyss of "Indianism," those of other peoples were developing into compact, homogeneous countries of independent nationalism; and, finally, while we were discarding our civilization even in our own Continent of Dinia, others were spreading theirs throughout the world.

Such, in a word, were some of the consequences of the first revolution to the Millat. Now, we all know that nations, like individuals, learn from their mistakes and misfortunes. The question is, did we learn from ours? If so, what did we do to counteract them and safeguard ourselves against their repetition in the future?

Truth to tell, on this vital issue we outbourboned the Bourbons themselves. For not only did we learn nothing and forget nothing but, also, we did nothing. Thus for all practical purposes we let the consequences of the first revolution affect the whole body politic of the Millat and compromise its hard-won heritage in all countries of Dinia.

So much for the first revolution.

Sequel of the Second Revolution

As for the second revolution, some idea of its outcome may be formed from the fact that, among other things, it further degraded our Fraternity from a medium force to a minor factor in the power-politics of the world, revived "Indianism" to an amazing degree, and, reducing the Millat throughout Dinia, broke up her social cohesion and turned her intelligentsia into a mass of wage-slaves and blind careerists.

So at the end of this revolution, while most other peoples in our position were re-integrating themselves into nations, we were dissolving our Millat herself into Indian castes and communities; again, while others were winning the recognition of their nationhood, we were losing the very remnants of our national entity itself; and finally, while others were

rejoicing at the possibility of national "Self-Determination," we were resolving upon an attempt at national "Self-Destruction."

From the point of view of our Millat such, in brief, was the sequel of the second revolution. Now when for the second time Fate deals harshly with a nation, it invariably arouses that nation to action. Did it do that in our case? If so, how did we cope with the sequel?

To put it bluntly, stricken as we were with the disease of careerism and cowardice, we resigned ourselves to the sequel, made it worse than before, and let it shadow our lives.

The Crisis of Indian Federation

And shadow it did. In ten years with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy it led to the most grievous crisis of our history. I mean the crisis of Indian Federation which nearly wrote the epitaph of our Millat in 1932, when our "leaders" at the Round Table Conferences, succumbing to the pressure and persuasion of the Anglo-Hindoo *entente*, surrendered our 1,200-year-old national position, renounced our birth-right to distinct nationhood, and accepted the destructive and dishonourable principle of the "Indianization" of our Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia.

Surely such a situation would make our dead turn in their graves. The question is: did it stir us, their living descendants? If so, how did we react?

Initiation of Part I of The Pak Plan

Fortunately, for the first time since our fall—if not since the very foundation of our Millat in Dinia—we realized the true nature of our peril, rose to the height of the life and death emergency, and reacted as the Millat expects her sons to react in times of supreme crisis.

Appearance of Pakistan

Since its details have already passed into history, it should be enough to say here that our reaction took the form of the Pak Plan, the first part of which was, on this occasion, initiated

with a statement embodying our demand for Pakistan. That is, the statement which was to save us from national self-destruction on the altar of "Indianism," safeguard our right to distinct national existence, mark the appearance of a de-Indianized Muslim country of nearly 35 million people, protect the heritage of the first three centuries of our history, inflict the first decisive defeat on the forces of "Indianism," and last, but by no means least, alter for ever the course of the history of the Millat, of Dinia, and, I dare say, of Asia.

Such, thanks to Allah's dispensation, was the outcome of the first part of the Pak Plan—the part which was placed before the Millat in 1933.

To say that is not to claim that the initiation of this part meant the realization of our goal. Not at all. It could not. It is simply to assert that it meant the first stage of our march towards our goal—the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission in Pakasia. That is all. Otherwise when I drafted and issued that statement of 1933, entitled *Now or Never*, none realized more acutely than myself that the confusion and chaos which had for centuries been gripping the Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia could never be reduced to order at once; that it would take us some time to do it; and that before we could do it we should be prepared to suffer from it.

Renewed Danger of "Indianism"

And suffer we did and are still doing. For some years later, i.e. in 1940, the very same conditions produced an ugly situation. In that year, emboldened on the one hand by the bovine attitude of our "leaders" from 1933 to 1939 towards the demand for Pakistan, and on the other by its own long and laborious preparations, "Indianism" made a determined and desperate bid to avenge its defeat of 1933; to re-establish its old domination over us all; to mar the prospects of the demand for Pakistan; and to crush the new spirit of the Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia.

Initiation of Part II of The Pak Plan

Formidable though this bid was, it was nevertheless thwarted as had been that of 1932. In fact we had been ready to foil it ever since that year. Since the way in which we did so forms part of contemporary record and is still fresh in the public memory, it is sufficient to say here that it was smashed by the second part of the Pak Plan, initiated with the statement: "*The Millat of Islam and The Menace of 'Indianism'.*"

Birth of Bangistan and Osmanistan

That is the part which embodied the demand for Bangistan and Osmanistan* and thereby signalized the deliverance of nearly 70 million Muslims, the rise of two more de-Indianized Muslim countries, the defence of 700 years of our history, the second decisive defeat of the forces of "Indianism," and the broadening and deepening of the new course of history of the Millat, of Dinia, and of Asia.

Praise be to Allah, that was the result of the second part of the Pak Plan—the part which was placed before the Millat in 1940.

Again, it must be remembered that, memorable though the result was, it did not, and could not, mean the achievement of our goal. Not by any means. It meant only the second stage in our forward march. That is all. Naturally, therefore, when that was done, as before so on this occasion, we paused, we prayed, and we worked for the Millat to absorb

* The old demand of the Pakistan National Movement for the *de facto* recognition of the *de jure* sovereignty of Ala Hazrat the Nizam, which is essentially based on the solemn treaties with him as a sovereign ally, is no more than a prelude to the national construction of Osmanistan by a voluntary exchange of her Hindoo population with Muslim population of the neighbouring regions. The Movement is convinced that only such a construction will help both the Hindoos and the Muslims. It will help the Hindoos because it will give them the right of Self-Determination. It will help the Muslims because it will enable them to secure Hyderabad-Deccan—the nucleus of Osmanistan—and transform her from an ephemeral, heterogeneous state into a homogeneous nation and powerful country. So it must be remembered that in this statement the references to Osmanistan are, strictly speaking, not to the existing Hyderabad State but to the Muslim national stronghold in South India which pertains to Part II of The Pak Plan.

the spiritual significance of this stage; to identify herself body, mind, and soul with its political atmosphere; to assess, in the light of the Movement's interpretation, the current developments including the reactions of the British, the Hindoos, and the Sikhs; and, above all, to prepare herself for the next stage of our march towards our goal.

Poised for the Next Step

So now, realising that this has substantially been accomplished by the Millat, we stand poised to take the next decisive step and to face the sequel of the revolution. That is, the step which will take us much nearer our goal and the sequel which will turn out to be the profoundest in the history of mankind.

The Coming Sequel

I say the *profoundest* because it is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that when this revolution has run its fateful course, when its fires have died out, and when its smoke has cleared away, a new world will arise from the ashes and embers of the old. That is to say, a world with its peoples and nations re-made, with its continents and countries re-mapped, with its seas and skies re-charted, and with its surface and subterranean wealth re-distributed. Not only that. It will also be a world inspired by new principles and purposes, helped by new developments and discoveries of science, directed by new men and methods, and pledged to new tasks and triumphs.

Surely in such a world no nation can afford to remain static, and least of all we who have literally lost everything but recovered nothing; who have merely claimed the national integration and liberation of 70 million Muslims of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan but done not even that much for the 35 million Muslims in the Hindoo-majority Regions of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies; and lastly who, though committed even to the liberation of our neighbours, are ourselves in subjection in all the countries of Pakasia.

Challenge to the Millat and her Mission

This being so, can anyone deny that to our Millat and her Mission this new world—the sequel of the current revolution—will constitute the greatest challenge of all time—a challenge which may be summed up in the question:—

What position are we going to hold in this new world, and what plans are we making to ensure that position?

In other words, are we going to be a unified Millat under Islam or an atomised mob under “Indianism”? Again, are we going to be homogeneous nations in the new de-Indianized countries of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan, or heterogeneous communities in the old Indianized regions of Dinia? Finally, are we going to win permanent national freedom for our 35 million Muslims of the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and Ceylon† by their national consolidation in seven Muslim countries of Pakasia, or abandon them for ever to the “Minority Community” slavery resulting from their present dispersal over no less than 15 Provinces and 500 principalities of Dinia alone.

These are some of the implications of that soul-searching question which must now claim the interest of our people and command the attention of our politicians. For on our answer to it will depend not only the future of one-fourth of Islam but also the fate of one-fourth of mankind living in Pakasia.

Summons to Re-construction

In all conscience, therefore, we must realise that, at this critical stage in our history, the challenge of this revolution

† The reasons for the inclusion of Ceylon in the Pak Plan are as follows: (1) Nature itself has made her part of the Continent of Dinia. (2) The British in their plans for the defence of the Continent have always treated her as part of Dinia. (3) The Hindoos in their schemes of national expansion have ever included her in “Greater India.” (4) The Ceylonese themselves have often discussed the desirability of federating her with Dinia. (5) The Muslim rights to her date from the time of Hazrat Adam.

is a summons to us to re-lay the foundations of our political life and liberty, and to rebuild the edifice of our spiritual, national, and inter-national future in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. It calls upon us to make sure that in future our re-construction is inspired only by the message of Islam, is planned only on the basis of "Millatism", and is built only with the material of the spiritual purity, the fundamental unity, and the national homogeneity of our people.

For in the new world that alone can ensure the rise and recognition of our nations in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan; the national unification and consolidation of our 35 million Muslims of the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and Ceylon into the new countries of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan; and the achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Initiation of Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of The Pak Plan

That—and nothing less—is the supreme truth about the situation. Once that is realized, the conviction becomes irresistible that the time has come for us to take the next step forward and initiate Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of the Pak Plan; for only they can meet the challenge of the revolution and transform it into the charter of our re-construction.

Seven Commandments of Destiny

So inspired by this conviction and acting in the name of the Pakistan National Movement, I place before my Millat these four parts of the Pak Plan which, for the sake of clarity, are set out below in a seven-point-programme. That is, a programme, each point of which, being as important as a commandment of Destiny, demands the utmost devotion of us all.

I. Avoid "Minorityism." "Minorityism" means the problem created by those religious, racial, or political minorities which possess an active consciousness of their own nationality and consequently oppose their inclusion in, or assimilation by, another nation or state.

It is a notorious fact that, since the rise of "Nationalism," such minorities have done greater harm to the nations concerned than ever before and that, therefore, most of the nations for their own safety are trying to get rid of them by exchange, expulsion, or segregation. Yet, strangely enough, there are still found people who want to keep and coerce them in the hope that, though to-day the protesting citizens of the state, to-morrow they will become the contented, if not proud, members of the nation.

Surely that is pure wishful thinking—and dangerous at that. The fact is that, in the present period of the world's history, the minorities would not do that if they could, and could not if they would. For their separate—and sullen—existence as "minorities" interests all the enemy-nations of the wishful thinkers. And these nations see to it that, whatever the situation, the minorities live rather as "fifth-columnists" than as loyal citizens.

This being so, on the issue of minorities we should follow not the dangerous dreams of wishful thinkers, but the fundamental truth born of historical experience.

What is the fundamental truth about minorities?

It is that there are times when minorities are the heralds of their original nations, and others when they are the symbols of their helplessness. Again, there are times when nations can fully assimilate minorities, and others when minorities can fatally sabotage such nations. Finally, there are times when to leave your minorities in foreign lands, or to keep alien minorities in your own lands, is a sound policy, and others, when to do either is childish folly; also, when to do neither is saving statesmanship, but to do both is sure suicide.

It is this last contingency which concerns us in the current phase of our life and calls upon us to remember that, in the past, "Minorityism" has ever proved itself a major enemy of our Millat; that at present it is sabotaging us religiously, culturally, and politically even in our national lands; and

that, in the future, it would destroy us throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Hence the Commandment: Avoid "Minorityism," which means that we must not leave our Minorities in Hindoo lands, even if the British and the Hindoos offer them the so-called constitutional safeguards. For no safeguards can be a substitute for nationhood which is their birth-right. Nor must we keep Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in our own lands, even if they themselves are willing to remain with or without any special safeguards. For they will never be of us. Indeed, while in ordinary times they will retard our national reconstruction, in times of crisis they will betray us and bring about our re-destruction.

That is the gist of the Commandment. It may be expanded into the factual statement that

(a) To leave our Minorities in Hindoo lands is:—

- (1) To leave under Hindoo hegemony 35 million Muslims who form no less than one-third of the whole Millat, which in her struggle for freedom has no allies in the Continent.
- (2) To deny their resources to the cause of the Millat at a time when she needs the maximum contribution of every one of her sons and daughters.
- (3) To devote their lives and labours to the cause of the Hindoo Jati. Those people who argue that an equal number (35 million) of Hindoo and Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be working for the Millat overlook the fact that the work of one can never compensate for that of the other.
- (4) To expose them, generation after generation, to the de-nationalizing influence of "Indianism," whose aim ever has been and ever will be to absorb us all in its own system and society.
- (5) To forget the tragic fate that overwhelmed our minorities which—in more favourable times than

these and with better guarantees than now possible—we left in Sicily, Italy, France, Portugal, Spain, Austria and Hungary. Where are those minorities now? To ask that question is to answer it in the most poignant terms.

(b) To keep Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in our own lands is:—

- (1) To keep in Muslim lands 35 million Hindoos and Sikhs who form no more than one-eighth of the total strength of the forces opposing the Millat in the Continent of Dinia.
- (2) To condemn to permanent servitude our 35 million brethren living in Hindoo Dinia, i.e. outside Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. The reason is that unless and until we accept this commandment we cannot liberate them from the domination of "Indianism." To realize their true importance to both the Millat and the Fraternity we must remember that in numbers these 35 millions represent two Turkeys, more than two Irans, three Afghanistans, ten Iraqs, eighteen Syrias, or twenty Palestines.
- (3) To expose our civilization to those Indian influences which seriously undermined it in the past but would completely annihilate it in the future.
- (4) To perpetuate our subjection to "Imperialism" which thrives on "Minorityism" and makes "Minorityism" live on it, and for it (Imperialism). That is why the super- and sub-agents of British Imperialism—the Congressites and the Leaguers respectively—are trying to keep all the countries of the Continent of Dinia full of minorities, whether or not Dinia is partitioned among its nations. These worthies are encouraging both the simple-minded Muslims and the hare-brained Hindoos in the fatal notion that by keeping the

other's minorities in their strongholds they will be able to lord it over them.

- (5) To forget even the unforgettable lesson taught us by the disappearance of our own Pak Empire and of the Turkish Empire, namely, that one of the major causes of their decline, defeat, and downfall was the treachery and treason of their religious, racial, or political minorities.

Such is the fundamental and the factual truth about minorities. In its light I feel bound to declare that: —

- (A) From the point of view of our immediate interests, to leave one-third of the Millat under Hindoo hegemony in the seven Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies in exchange for one-eighth of the Jati under Muslim supremacy in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be an act not of sanity but of insanity.
- (B) From the point of view of our interim policy, to prepare the Muslim Minorities to remain in the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies and to persuade the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities to stay in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be an act not of fidelity but of treachery to the Millat.
- (C) From the point of view of our ultimate purposes, to compromise with "Minorityism" will lead not to an eternal triumph but to an irreparable tragedy for the Millat.

So, in the end, our direct or indirect acceptance of "Minorityism" will mean not the recognition of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan but the rejection of them; not the birth of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan but the miscarriage of all hope of them; not the conversion of the Sub-continent of India into the Continent of Dinia but its consolidation as the country of India; and not the organization of Dinia and its Dependencies into Pakasia but the re-formation of India and its Dependencies into Indasia.

This being so, we must all bear in mind the above truth and avoid "Minorityism." For that is the master-lesson of History and to forget it is to forget the secret of our deliverance, of our defence, and of our destiny as a Millat.

II. Avow Nationalism. This Commandment is complementary to the previous one and means that we must assert, and demand the recognition of, the distinct national status of our Minorities in the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies, and reciprocally offer to give similar status to the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

The Commandment is inspired by the truth that nationhood is to people what majority or manhood is to individuals. That is, it marks their coming of age, their realization of the elementary status as a people, and their assumption of the essential obligations of that status. It is also prompted by the historical fact that in practice whatever work the minorities may be able to do for others, they can do precious little for themselves, at any rate when they are so dispersed as are ours. The result is that their position remains one of permanent subjection, involving every certainty of their living and dying for others, but no possibility of their redeeming themselves.

Undoubtedly, therefore, their salvation lies in "Nationhood," which we must demand for our Minorities in the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies, and do that in the knowledge that whatever the result it can do nothing but good to the Millat. The reason is that, if the British and Hindoos accept our demand, it will liberate our 35 million brethren now caged in Hindoostan (the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh), Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bundhelkhand and Malwa, Rajistan, the Bombay Presidency and South India, Western Ceylon, and Eastern Ceylon; transform them into seven nations; free Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan from the dangers of "Minorityism"; and, above all, ensure the spiritual purity, the fundamental unity, and the national homogeneity of the Millat.

On the other hand, if the British and the Hindoos do not agree, it will at least put on record the right to nationhood of our 35 million brethren; register our protest against their "Indianization"; improve our bargaining position in regard to Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan; and render a lasting service to the cause of freedom of all nations in the Continent.

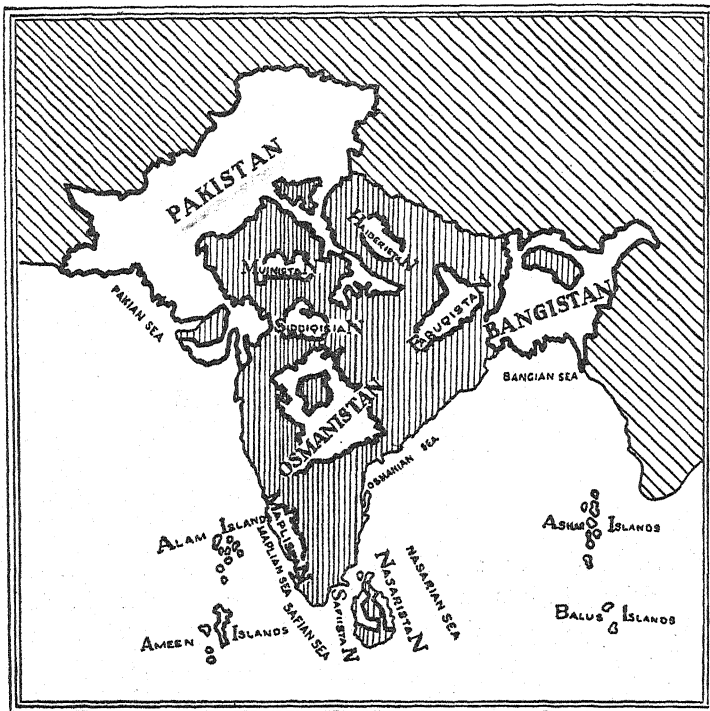
It is true that, until 1940, there were colossal difficulties in the way of making such a demand for our minorities, but now they have been removed by the Sikh claim to separate national status in Pakistan. So we must make the most creative use of this claim and, on the principle of proportional territory, offer to meet it—as met it can be—in the area of the four Sikh states of Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot and Jind, on the absolute condition that our demand for similar status for our Minorities in the seven Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies (Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan) is met simultaneously by the supporters of the Sikhs, i.e. the British and the Hindoos, who, by holding out the threat of the Sikh claim, have throughout the past 85 years tried to stifle our aspirations.

Need one add that this demand for seven states for our Minorities will constitute as historic an answer to the Sikh claim to separate nationhood in Pakistan as was "Pakistan" in 1933 and "Bangistan and Osmanistan" in 1940 to the Hindoo claim to the whole Continent of Dinia.

Let it, therefore, be realized by all Muslim political parties, including the All-India Muslim League, that for us to deal with the Sikh claim in the way the Hindoos dealt with ours is to court, among other disasters, the Hindoo fate, i.e. twelve centuries of subjection; that new situations can be met not by destructive criticism, but only by constructive action; and that of the present aspirants to the great and glorious prize of Dinia it will ultimately go to the nation that is the first to achieve her spiritual purity, fundamental unity, and national homogeneity, and build her future on their solid and secure foundations.

Allah willing, that nation will be the Millat, the nation of

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nations, which is accepting the Pak Plan, born of the eternal truths of the Faith, Fraternity, and Fatherland; and rejecting the de-nationalizing schemes born of the fallacies of "Indianism."

III. Acquire Proportional Territory to create Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan. To say that land is to nations what homes are to individuals and fields to farmers is to do no more than direct attention to the elemental truth that it is land which makes their fatherlands, sustains their physical life, and symbolises their wealth, prestige, and power; and that, therefore, they ever fight to acquire it, to keep it, and to pass it on to their posterity.

Hence the Commandment which means that we should acquire our share of the territories of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies and convert it into countries for our nations.

Now in the Orbit of Pakasia we form about one-fourth of the total population and, according to the laws of Nature and nations, are entitled to about one-fourth of its area. Out of this we shall get in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan* about 325,000 square miles—after giving the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities their proportional share of the area of these lands. So, roughly speaking, the area we shall actually receive in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be about 75,000 square miles less than that which is really due to us. It is the acquisition of this area and its conversion into Muslim countries which are made our obligation by the Commandment.

The only way to meet that obligation is to claim the proportional area for our Minorities in the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies on the assurance of reciprocity to the Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. For instance, in Hindoostan

* It is estimated that, after the preliminary construction of Osmanistan on a national basis by a voluntary exchange of population, a minority of some three million Hindoos will for a time be left within her boundaries.

(the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh) our Minority forms about 15 per cent. of the population and we are, therefore, entitled to 15 per cent. of her area. That is about 17,000 square miles, which we must acquire and convert into Haidaristan. To appreciate the true importance of our share of Hindoostan we must remember that, in terms of our Mission, it is invaluable; and, in terms of space, it is nearly one and a half times the area of Albania, and twice that of Palestine.

In the same way, the proportional areas for our Minorities in the Central Provinces, Bundhelkhand and Malwa, Bihar and Orissa, Rajistan, the Bombay Presidency and South India, Western Ceylon, and Eastern Ceylon must be claimed and converted into our new national countries of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan respectively.

It is clear that only thus can we get our full share of the area of the Continent and also found national homes for our Minorities in Hindoo Dinia and Ceylon, where their position, already precarious, is bound to become perilous in the future. It is true that while some of these "National Homes" will be quite sizeable strongholds, others will be no more than footholds; but in this connection we must remember two things. First, that so far as the size of these strongholds is concerned, it will be proportional to our numbers in every region; and second, that, so far as our security is concerned, to be free in our own national footholds is better than to be slaves in alien lands.

We must, therefore, press our claim to the proportional areas in all such regions of the Continent—and do so without delay. For, the times are changing and to leave things as they are is not only to leave our 35 million brethren helpless and homeless in Hindoo Dinia and Ceylon, but also to forfeit the right to 75,000 square miles of territory which forms an integral and inalienable part of the heritage of the Millat.

It should be clearly understood that, our total strength

being only one-third of that of the Hindoos, the Pak Plan is, on the issue of the situation of the territory to be acquired or to be allotted, inspired by the supreme consideration of the spiritual and strategical security of the Millat, without being unfair to the other parties concerned.

This means that as, owing to our dispersal all over the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, we cannot, in the present circumstances, consolidate ourselves in less than ten countries and, therefore, cannot help splitting our Millat into ten units, we must take care that the proportional areas (for the minorities) in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan are allotted, where possible, as enclaves. For that alone will give us the compensating advantage of, first, keeping separate the Hindoos and the Sikhs and their areas from one another and, secondly, of keeping the Hindoo minority proportional areas just as separate from their main strongholds as ours—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan—will be from Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Obviously, to act otherwise would be a folly of the first order. For, while it would divide us (105 million) and our lands into ten units, it would unite into a solid mass all the 300 million Hindoos and Sikhs and their areas in Dinia.

Against this some non-Muslims might say that the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities' areas within our lands would mean for them not countries but concentration camps, which we could liquidate at our convenience; or that at best they would resemble those beleaguered forts which could easily be starved into surrender.

Let it, therefore, be stated here that we are actuated by no such motive at all; that the situation of the Hindoo Minorities' proportional areas in our national lands would merely be similar to that of our own Minorities' proportional areas in the Hindoo national lands; and that the development of aviation has, once and for all, solved the problem of the communications of land-locked countries with the world.

IV. Consolidate the Individual Nations. The dispersal of

a people being another name for its disintegration, it is true to say that whatever work they may do for, or against, others, dispersed minorities cannot do much for themselves. The consequence is that their basic position remains one of permanent subjection to the majorities in their countries.

Hence the Commandment which means that as it is dangerous to leave dispersed our Minorities in the Hindoo-majority Regions of Dinia and in Ceylon, we must unify and consolidate them as nations in the countries that will comprise the proportional areas acquired under the previous commandment. That is, the countries which, for spiritual, historical, and national reasons, I have named Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan.

The sooner we realize that such unification and consolidation is vital to their national honour and existence, the better for us all. For in the past thirteen centuries nothing has done us greater harm than our blindness to this obvious truth which should always have guided our policy in the Continent of Dinia.

In any case, we must remember that in future we cannot afford to take risks at all and that, therefore, we must begin to carry out the Commandment by attending at once to the moral and political consolidation of these nations. That is to say, from now onwards we must always treat them in thought, in word, and in action as nations equal in importance and in status to the Pak nation herself. For if we do not, no one else will. Indeed, the probability is that, despite our best efforts, our opponents will still do what they can to keep them as mere minority communities or sub-nationalities, just as they are trying to whittle down Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan to the level of the regions—if not provinces—of "India."

Forewarned is forearmed. Let us see to it that we do not play the enemy's game by referring to our nations and countries as parts or zones of Pakistan. For one thing, they are not parts of Pakistan but her equals; and, for another, to

speaking of them as parts of Pakistan is in effect (1) to renew the fatal policies of the All-India Muslim League which for thirty-five years spoke of, and treated, the Millat as one of the minority communities of the "Indian Nation"; (2) to use the dangerous phraseology of the President of the League, who still refers to "India" as the "Common Mother Country" of both the Hindoos and the Muslims; (3) to bring down our nations to the position of the sub-nationalities and our countries to that of the provinces or regions of "India"; and (4) to sabotage The Pak Plan which is the only hope of the rise of our Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

V. Co-ordinate the Nations in a Pak Commonwealth of Nations. To us, the Pakasians, union is not only a source of strength, but also a sacred duty. For it is the very foundation of our Fraternity and we are enjoined to preserve, promote, and perpetuate it among our nations and countries.

Hence this Commandment, which means that we must bring together in an inter-national organization at least our ten countries—Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan. I say *must* for two reasons. First, for any nation to stand alone in the world is to invite aggression, if not annihilation; and, second, as our nations belong to one Millat, they sink or swim together. So, in the interests of both our national and our Milli security, they must unite and co-operate with one another in a Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is to say a Commonwealth which will inspire their purposes and integrate their policies, mobilize their resources and direct their activities to the common deliverance of all, to the common defence of all, to the common development of all, and to the common destiny of all.

It should be understood that the central object being co-operation between our nations in Pakasia, no sanctity attaches to the form of this institution. Indeed, if the nations like, they can make it instead a confederation or league of

nations. Only, whatever they do, they must remember that a commonwealth gives the Millat all the advantages of a confederation or of a league without most of the disadvantages of either. For, constitutionally speaking, while the creation of a confederation is difficult owing to the lack of contiguity of the countries and the very conception of a league is fraught with the danger of its disruption, the core of a commonwealth not only is free from the difficulty of one and from the danger of the other, but also assures the stability and success of the institution itself.

Furthermore, I should like to make it clear that, in designating this institution "Pak Commonwealth of Nations," I was inspired not by a patriotic sentiment of the superiority of Pakistan to other nations, but by the historical fact that in whatever country of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies we may be living to-day, we are all originally Paks; just as the Arabs, whether in Arabia, in Iraq, or in Egypt, are still Arabs; and the British whether in Britain, in Australia, or in New Zealand, are still British. So it is this historical fact which I have tried to perpetuate in the designation of this Commonwealth, which will be the real focus of the international solidarity of our nations and the living symbol of the fraternal unity of our Millat in Pakasia.

VI. Convert the Sub-continent of India into the Continent of Dinia. Like great men, all great nations have their own ideals for the service of humanity. Indeed, it will be truer to say that it is the ideals which make them great. For history clearly proves that they remain great only so long as they possess such ideals, live for them, and, if necessary, die for them.

Now, so far as we Pakasians are concerned, our ideal since the seventh century has been the service and salvation of "India." That is, the ideal to which we have already given more than thirteen centuries of struggle, suffering, and sacrifice; of which we have already accomplished the most difficult part; but which for its completion now imperatively calls for a renewal of our dedication.

Hence this Commandment, which means that we must liberate the soul and the soil of "India" from the domination of "Indianism" into the domain of "Dinianism" and, thereby, restore her to her *original and rightful* position in the world.

So we must re-dedicate ourselves to our age-old ideal and, as a token of re-dedication, concentrate on three fundamentals. First, we must write "finis" to the most deceptive fiction in the world that "India" is the sphere of "Indianism." Second, we must record the most significant truth in the world that "India" is the domain of "Dinianism." And, third, we must proclaim the most solid fact to the world that the Sub-continent of India is the Continent of Dinia.

Let no one be surprised at these fundamentals. There is nothing fantastic about them. Indeed they are the most natural and logical expression of the history of "India" herself. For, after all, to begin with, was not India "Dravidia"; because she was wholly inhabited by the Dravidians? Then, ages after that, did not "Dravidia" herself become India; because, thanks to the extermination of the Dravidians by the Hindoos, she came to be almost wholly populated by the Hindoos? And, then again, in the eighth century, did not another epochal change take place in her life—a change which made her partly Hindoo and partly Muslim and, thereby, rendered the name "India" a misnomer?

Finally, owing to the events of the past thirteen centuries, isn't she now the domain of several religions, i.e. of Islam, Hindooism, Christianity, and Sikhism, etc.? If so—and it is so—does it not mean that just as a fundamental change in the character and composition of the people of "Dravidia" made her "India," there is no reason why a similar change in the character and composition of "India" should not make her "Dinia"? Indeed, it must. For, still to call her "India," the land of Indians or Hindoos, is to deny the existence on her soil of several faiths and their followers. Not

only that. It is also to deceive the world, to damn posterity, and to distort history.

This being so, we must adopt the new designation—the Continent of Dinia—and thereby take the first momentous step towards the execution of the Commandment which down the centuries will have the active allegiance of our Millat until at last India is fully and finally converted into Dinia.

Before we pass on to the last but by no means the least important commandment, three points should be noted about the new designation—the Continent of Dinia. (1) The term “continent” is inspired by the fact that Dinia is a huge land mass, divided off from Asia by stupendous barriers; and, therefore, like Europe, deserves to be called a “continent.” (2) The term “Dinia” is composed of only the letters of “India.” (3) Should non-Pak nations consider the term “Dinia” as exclusively Islamic as the term “India” is exclusively Hindoo, they can, instead of using the name “India,” adopt for their own national purposes the term “Adiania” which means the land of religions; and, barring the first and the last letter “A,” is like “Dinia,” made up of only the letters of “India.”

VII. Organize the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Orbit of Pakasia. This is the last Commandment and is meant to consolidate the results of the previous Commandments. We must, therefore, clearly understand that though, unlike the terms Arabasia, Australasia, Malayasia, and Caucasia, the term Pakasia has no racial significance; yet, like them all, it has both a cultural and a geographical connotation. Culturally, it connotes that part of Asia wherein our Pak culture is, actually or potentially, predominant; and geographically, it includes the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, i.e. Alam Islands, Ameen Islands, Safiistan, Ceylon, Nasaristan, Ashar Islands, and Balus Islands.

Thus to organize Dinia and its Dependencies into Pakasia is merely to recognise the truths and the trends of its history. I mean the truths that have sprung from the heroic deeds of our Millat and shaped the cultural entity of Dinia; and the

trends that are created by the dynamic ideas of our Millat and are directing its (Dinia's) cultural future in the world.

This should inspire us all to perform the duty laid down for us by the Commandment. It is a duty in the performance of which lies not only the present security of the Millat's culture but also the future success of her civilization in Pakasia.

Protection of the Millat's Heritage

Such, in broad outline, are the seven points which initiate Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of The Pak Plan. It is obvious that they cover every interest of the Millat—*spiritual or strategic, of provinces or of states*—and thereby protect her whole heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Prospects of the Millat's Ideals

I have called these points "Seven Commandments of Destiny" because in my solemn belief they are, like Parts I and II of The Plan, blessed by Allah and, *if followed faithfully*, pre-ordained to lead us within the next fifteen years to the achievement of Pakistan, of Bangistan, and of Osmanistan; before the end of the century to the creation of Siddiqistan, of Faruqistan, of Haidaristan, of Muinistan, of Maplistan, of Safiistan, and of Nasaristan; and, in far less time than we took to build up our present heritage, to the conversion of the Sub-continent of India into the Continent of Dinia, and to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Orbit of Pakasia.

Call to Dedication

Pakasians! Such is the eternal promise, and such the ultimate prize. To us, the one is the assurance and the other the substance of the grace Divine. And, of us, both demand the discharge of our duty to the Millat.

So, in this grave and solemn hour, when the revolution is entering its final phase and when a new world is dawning upon the horizon of History, let us all say "*Labbaik*" to that saving demand and pledge ourselves to discharge that duty.

That is, let us all bow before Allah and His Rasool, dedicate ourselves to the Seven Commandments of Destiny, and raise the banner of a struggle that will be the hardest, the longest, and the greatest of all the struggles of our history.

For only that obeisance, that dedication, and that struggle will meet the challenge of the revolution and transform it into a charter of our re-construction, redeem the honour of our nations and restore our power, and ensure the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout Pakasia.

Long Live the Faith !

Long Live the Fraternity !

Long Live the Fatherlands !

NOTE

The Statement "The Millat and Her Minorities" pertains to Part III of the Pak Plan, which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942 and which deals with the future of the 35,000,000 Muslims who live in the Hindoo-majority Regions of India and in Ceylon and other islands. In order to ensure their national survival, this Part proposes the creation of seven more Muslim countries:—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia, and Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; and also the restoration to the Millat of the Alam Islands (Laccadives) in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands (Maldives) in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar (Andamans) and Balus (Nicobars) Islands in the Bangian Sea.

In view of the present conditions in India and the world, the Statement stresses the need for immediate action for the creation of these countries and the restoration of these islands. To that end it announces the foundation of seven national movements for these regions; namely, the Siddiqistan National Movement for Central India, Faruqistan National Movement for Bihar and Orissa, Haidaristan National Movement for Hindoostan, Muinistan National Movement for Rajistan, Maplistan National Movement for Southern India, Safiistan National Movement for Western Ceylon, and Nasaristan National Movement for Eastern Ceylon.

Finally, it invites the Muslims in each of these regions to co-operate with their respective national movement, devote themselves to their national re-integration in their respective Fatherland, and so contribute to the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

First issued 15th March, 1943

Reissued 5th February, 1946

Reissued 7th May, 1947

CHAPTER XVIII

*THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

No Future without Fatherlands

Creation of Seven More Muslim Countries

Foundation of HAIDARISTAN

for

Muslims of HINDOOSTAN

Build and Live—or—Wither and Die

MUSLIMS OF HINDOOSTAN!

Mankind is on the march. It is moving over mountains of dead and maimed, through rivers of blood and tears, and across deserts of rubble and ruins. It is breaking the bonds of slavery, avenging the wrongs of centuries, and sounding the death-knell of "Caesarism" in the world. In short, it is entering a new era in history. That is, an era of change, of challenge, and of chance: of change of the old order, of challenge to the creative in man, and of chance for the re-construction of life—national as well as inter-national.

Obviously this development is fundamental. It may even be called elemental. It is charged with the fate of centuries and civilizations. It foreshadows a revolutionary phase in the

* This chapter is one of the seven declarations which were issued, each with certain appropriate alterations, on the above subject. The sub-titles of the others were: "Foundation of Siddiqistan for Muslims of Bundhelkhand and Malwa"; "Foundation of Faruqistan for Muslims of Bihar and Orissa"; "Foundation of Muinistan for Muslims of Rajistan"; "Foundation of Maplistan for Muslims of South India"; "Foundation of Safiistan for Muslims of Western Ceylon"; and "Foundation of Nasaristan for Muslims of Eastern Ceylon."

destinies of nations. It marks the beginning of the transformation of the world.

In view of that, the sooner we understand its full significance and scope, the better for us.

To do that we must comprehend at least one master-fact about it. This fact is that the new era has a message for one and all: for us in Hindoostan as for other peoples in their lands; that, to profit by the message, we must read it with the eyes of our Faith, render it in the terms of our Fraternity, and realize it to the lasting good of our "being and well-being" in Hindoostan. I mean the land which is now known as the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh; in which we have lived for over a thousand years; for which generation after generation we have expended our treasure and shed our blood; and with which are bound up our future and fortune for all time to come.

Translated in the Islamic spirit of comprehension, what is the message of the new era for us?

To put it precisely—and politically—the message is that the time has come for us to provide our permanent defence against the mortal dangers that beset us in the Gangetic Valley. That is, the dangers which spring from our precarious position as a minority community, paralyse our national status, and menace our very existence in Hindoostan. In other words, it is a call to us to create in Hindoostan our own Fatherland of Haidaristan and resume our place in the ranks of nations.

Such in content is the message. Clearly it is a message which, in the historical sense, can only be described as the supreme call of Fate. It awakens us to the grim reality of our position, offers us a rare chance to save ourselves, points us the way to take the chance, and promises us the preservation of our heritage.

In view of that, if we want to survive and revive ourselves as a nation—and that we most certainly do—we must attend to the message immediately, take the chance faithfully, and lay the foundations well and truly of our homeland of Haidaristan.

How to do it?

So far as our choice of ways and means is concerned, we must know that in the embattled world of to-day there are no short cuts to national survival, let alone national revival in new countries. Indeed, there never were any, and never will be any. For, survival has ever belonged—and ever will belong—to the fittest who can fight the longest and the best for it.

This is the law of Nature, and to Nature's laws there are no exceptions. That is why at all times and in all countries people had to fight to ensure their survival. So must we—and so will we. In order to be able to do that successfully, we must face three questions honestly, answer them fundamentally, and act up to our answers heroically. For, only a sound position, sustained by supreme dedication, can save us and ensure the creation of Haidaristan, reinstate us in the comity of nations, and vindicate our national cause before history.

What are these three questions?

They are: Why create Haidaristan? How to create it? And when to create it?

I. Why Create Haidaristan?

To give our reasons for the proposed creation of Haidaristan is really to state one of the supreme truths of history. This truth is that dispersal is the worst enemy of nations. It is even more dangerous to them than defeat itself. Because defeat degrades, but dispersal destroys. And no wonder. It is to the body politic what vivisection is to the human body. In other words, it is dissection; it is dismemberment.

This truth is all-fateful and calls for the fullest comprehension.

Let us first look at it in the light of general knowledge. It reveals to us the secret not only of the political rise and fall of nations but also of the physical life and death of peoples. It reminds us that where we live to-day in Hindoostan, there down the ages have lived countless nations who one after

another have gradually disintegrated and ultimately disappeared. Why? Because, in their ignorance, they suffered dispersal. It warns us that by remaining dispersed as at present we, in our folly, are inviting the grim fate of our predecessors and offering ourselves for slow but sure destruction.

Such is its instruction in the light of general knowledge. Now let us look at it in the light of personal experience, which is proverbially the best teacher.

It recalls to our minds that our Millat's greatness and glory was the ultimate result of our integration, unification, and consolidation. For, it was the fullest concentration of the resources of our individual nations which made her mighty, invincible, and irresistible; and which enabled her to work for her Mission.

Secondly, it reminds us—and we do need reminding—that our Millat's tragedy of 1857 and her subsequent trials were the inevitable sequel of the dispersal of us all. For, it was our dispersal which, more than anything else, broke up our Millat's twelve-century-old Continental Commonwealth, made her a minority community throughout the vast territories which had constituted that Commonwealth, left us all without even a home where we could retire to recover from our defeat, to reorganize our forces, and to resume our struggle; and which in the end tempted the Indians in 1932 to "Indianize" our whole Millat through the All-India Federation and thereby write "Finis" to her story in India.

Thirdly, it approves our work for national re-integration which we started with the foundation of the Pakistan National Movement in 1933; and as a result of which we have been able to meet some of the dangers of our Millat's dispersal in India, to frustrate the foul attempt at her "Indianization," to nullify the All-India Federation Act, and to create in 1933 under Part I of the Pak Plan the national cause of 35,000,000 Muslims in Pakistan and, in 1940, under Part II that of 40,000,000 Muslims in Bangistan and Osmanistan, and thereby lay the

foundations of defence of 75,000,000 Muslims who until 1932 were helpless and homeless in the lands which they had served and saved for no less than twelve centuries.

Finally, it urges us to execute Part III of the Plan immediately. That is, the Part which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942; and which proposes to stop the dispersal and to start the national re-integration of all Muslim Minorities in the Hindoo-majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. To that end, it calls for (a) the creation of seven more Muslim countries: Siddiqistan in Central India, Faruqistan in Bihar and Orissa, Haidaristan in Hindoostan, Muinistan in Rajistan, Maplistan in Southern India; Safiistan in Western Ceylon, and Nasaristan in Eastern Ceylon; and (b) the restoration to the Millat's heritage of the strategically important, Hindoo-named but Muslim-peopled, Laccadive and Maldiv Islands, now known as the Alam and Ameen Islands, and of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, now termed the Ashar and Balus Islands.

Such is this truth which is graven on the tablets of history, inscribed on the tombstones of nations, and best taught by both the triumphs and the tragedies of our own Millat. Impressing upon us as it does the vital need for our own Fatherland, it deserves to be seared on our minds and memories, and demands to be acted upon immediately for the creation of Haidaristan. And act upon it we must—and we will—because we stand convinced that nothing can save us from national extinction in Hindoostan except the creation of Haidaristan. That is, the Fatherland whose name springs from our Islamic share in the history and inheritance of Hindoostan, symbolizes our Islamic national status in the land of Hindoostan, and stands for our Islamic hopes for the ultimate destiny of Hindoostan.

This gives the answer to "Why create Haidaristan?" and brings us to the next question.

II. How to Create Haidaristan?

The method and manner of the creation of Haidaristan

must necessarily be determined by a reference to the fundamentals of the creation of countries, and to the conditions of Hindoostan. If for the former we look into the records of history, we shall find that, throughout the ages, new countries have been created only by military conquest, spiritual conversion, mass colonization, or partition of lands; and if for the latter we look at the realities of Hindoostan, we shall realize that, for the immediate creation of Haidaristan, the first three of the historical alternatives being out of the question, only the last alternative is open to us. That is, the alternative of the partition of territory.

This being so, we must adopt it and act upon it. That we can do with a clear conscience. For, it is an alternative which is at once fair, feasible, and favoured by the comity of nations.

It is fair in the name of the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of both nations concerned—Muslim and Hindoo—because to both of us it gives the moral right of self-determination and guarantees the actual realization of that right in our individual shares of the territory of Hindoostan.

It is feasible in the name of "practical politics," because it does not call for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in Hindoostan. On the contrary, all that it demands—and that to the common good of both Muslims and Hindoos—is a more rational and truly inter-national partition of the territory—the territory which now, to the good of neither Muslims nor Hindoos, is divided into two sub-provinces, and so many districts.

It is favoured by the comity of nations in the name of historical experience, because wherever and whenever it has been tried for the solution of a bi-national problem like ours, it has invariably yielded wonderful results. It has put an end to the age-old conflicts which frequently caused civil wars, and thereby not only checked the general development of the peoples concerned but also endangered and, in some cases, even destroyed the peace of the world.

So, in view of its all-round suitability, we are not merely

entitled to it but in duty bound to avail ourselves of it for the purpose of creating Haidaristan.

So much for the principle of this alternative. What of the practical steps for putting it into operation?

It is plain that to put it into operation will constitute our greatest task. To accomplish this task we must do three things.

First, we must formally and finally reject the false and fatal conception of the historical, the national, and the territorial unity of Hindoostan, repudiate our present position of "Minorityism," re-assert our age-old status of distinct nationhood, and, above all, prove our unshakable determination to re-establish and perpetuate that status in Haidaristan. This is indispensable to our success. We must make sure of it.

Then, on the basis of our population, we must claim our proportional share in the territory of Hindoostan, and do so with a full conviction of the justice of our position, because we are prepared to satisfy reciprocally the similar claims of the Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. This share we must do our best to acquire in that part of Hindoostan where it will involve the least possible transfer of population, and where we shall be able to enjoy freely the rights and to perform fully the duties of our membership of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Finally, when this is done, we must, in the spirit of Islamic consecration, convert our proportional area into our Fatherland of Haidaristan, and call for its recognition as a distinct country by the comity of nations.

That constitutes our answer to the second question: "How to create Haidaristan?" and leaves us free to deal with the last question.

III. When to Create Haidaristan?

In facing this question it is vital to remember that in this world there is a time for everything. This means that just as there is a time for ploughing and sowing, so there is a time for founding and building nations or countries. Again, just

as the time for the former is dictated by Nature, so that for the latter is determined by history. The moral of it all is that, whatever one's purpose, to ensure success one must do the right thing at the right time.

Surely that is axiomatic—and to none more so than to us, the descendants of campaigners, conquerors, and empire-builders. For, we know that the triumphs of our ancestors owed much to their full realization of the vital importance of the time-factors in human undertakings and enterprises.

To state it here is simply to stress the fact that the most suitable time to create Haidaristan is here and now. And this for the following reasons:—

The making, the un-making, and the re-making of nations and countries is an eternal process—and purpose—of Nature. No power can stop it. No agency can sabotage it. Ceaselessly and constantly it has gone on from the beginning of time, and will go on to the end of time. That is as inevitable as any other action of Nature.

Now, as far as its actual working is concerned, History shows that, throughout the ages, it has invariably found its completion through wars, with the result that directly or indirectly it is wars which have made all nations and all countries what they are to-day. Mark my words. I say all nations and all countries. For, in Asia or Africa, in Europe or America, there isn't one single nation or one single country whose organic creation, whose human composition, whose territorial extent, or whose political position is not the direct or indirect result of wars.

Naturally, therefore, what is true of past wars must be true of the present war. This is running true to type and—even more fully than ever before—is throwing into the melting-pot the whole set-up of human affairs. That fact is as plain as it is profound. For gone into the melting-pot are all systems and civilizations, all brotherhoods and fraternities, all continents and countries. And, what is more, when the fires of war and revolution, now burning under the pot, have done their

work, all the contents will go into new moulds to assume new shapes.

This means that, in due course, they will all be changed. The systems and civilizations will be re-constituted, the brotherhoods and fraternities re-fashioned, and the continents and countries re-made. Thus will be transformed some countries into counties and some counties into countries, some nations into communities and some communities into nations. And, in the end, will be changed the face and the fate of the whole world.

Indeed, all this does not lie in the future. Most of it relates to the present. For, whether we realize it or not, the fact is that before our eyes there is going on a re-interpretation of the philosophies of life, a re-integration of the peoples, a realignment of the nations, a re-construction of the countries, and a re-orientation of the policies and purposes of all in the world. In both hemispheres and in all continents, people with power are waiting for the opportunity to effect this global re-organization. They are waiting not with folded hands but with blue prints finished, with plans perfected, and with preparations completed. The moment the war ends—if not before—they will see to it that nothing remains the same; that everything changes.

Let us, therefore, make no mistake about it. In such a world India will not remain changeless. It cannot, even if it will. For it is part of the world; it is a party to the war; and it is ripe for re-construction on new foundations. That is why its re-construction—territorial and inter-national, political and constitutional—is being advocated by most of the parties concerned. Indeed, it is being discussed and determined by all. It is, therefore, no longer in cold storage. On the contrary, it is on the anvil, and there it is being actually hammered and shaped into form.

We could wish for nothing better. For our purpose this is the ideal situation. And it is about such situations that the Saracens said "Strike while the iron is hot—and polish it at

leisure." That saying is packed with moral virtue and practical wisdom. It makes it crystal clear to us all that, in view of the present state of affairs in India and in the world, the time to ensure the re-construction of Hindoostan is here and now; that the time for the re-construction of Hindoostan is the time for the creation of Haidaristan; and that to let it pass by will be to miss an opportunity that may not recur for centuries.

This concludes our broad, basic statement on the questions raised by the message of the new era which is beginning in the history of mankind.

ACTION AND REACTION

Having made our fundamental answers to these fateful questions, let us now turn our attention to the issue of the reaction to our action for Haidaristan. This is all the more necessary because all reaction won't be favourable. Indeed, it is certain that it will be mixed—devoted support from most of our own people, and determined opposition from other quarters. This is natural; it is inevitable.

We must, therefore, accept such reaction rationally and treat it wisely. In other words, we must do all we can to foster, consolidate, and make the best use of the popular support; and also to understand the opposition, answer it in advance, and defeat it in the end.

Study the Opposition

It is certain that active opposition to Haidaristan will come from two quarters; that is, the British Imperialists and the Hindoo Nationalists. It is possible that passive opposition may come even from the Muslim Leaguers, which, needless to add, will be more harmful than the active opposition of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente!

Be that as it may, our duty is to anticipate every kind of opposition, study it carefully, and face it confidently.

So far as the British Imperialists are concerned, they will oppose us because they believe their rule can last only so long

as we and the Hindoos keep inter-mixed and, therefore, quarrelling among ourselves in Hindoostan. That will be the motive underlying the British opposition.

The Hindoo Nationalists will oppose us because they think they can absorb us if we, as a minority, remain mixed with, and dispersed among, them in Hindoostan. That will be the motive inspiring the Hindoo opposition.

The Muslim Leaguers may oppose us because, true to their tradition of careerism, they support a cause only if and when it can help their careers. That is why from 1933 to 1939 they didn't favour Pakistan and why in 1940 they adopted it. By then it had become so important that they thought they could exploit it to help their careers.

Such will be the motives prompting the opposition of these three parties. In view of that, we mustn't be surprised if, in the Leaguers' words about Pakistan before the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1933, they all dub the ideal of Haidaristan "chimerical and impracticable." In doing that, they might argue that we, the Muslims and the Hindoos, are so mixed up in Hindoostan that we cannot possibly be sorted out as separate nations into separate regions; secondly, that even if that could be done, our population and area would be too small to create Haidaristan; and, thirdly, that even if Haidaristan could be created, it would be too poor a country to hold its own in the world. Finally, the Leaguers might hint that our struggle for Haidaristan would compromise our struggle for Pakistan and Bangistan, and that, therefore, we had better postpone it until after the achievement of Pakistan and Bangistan, which, they would argue, could by itself facilitate the rise of Haidaristan.

Frustrate the Opposition

Thus all these parties will do what they can to argue us out of our faith in Haidaristan. But, knowing as we do the spirit and substance of their arguments, we should have no difficulty in meeting and defeating their opposition. The best way to do that is to adhere firmly to the fundamentals of our case.

work devotedly for our cause, and before them, as before the world, take our stand on the following basic facts of national life:—

First, to be a small nation is better and more honourable than to be no nation at all. For, nationhood is to a people what maturity is to an individual. Only its attainment can secure their existence, status, and honour in the world.

Secondly, to have a small homeland is safer and more honourable than to have no homeland at all. For, no nation can grow to its full stature and preserve and develop its heritage without a homeland of its own.

Thirdly, the position of a nation or country depends ultimately on its spirit, not on its size. This is conclusively proved by the history of Greece and Rome, of Arabia and England.

Fourthly, we shall by no means be the smallest nation, nor Haidaristan the smallest country in the world. On the contrary, both the numerical strength of our nation and the territorial size of our Fatherland—Haidaristan—will be larger than those of many a nation or state well established in the world.

Fifthly, we in Haidaristan shall by no means be alone in the world, because we shall be in the fraternal company of at least nine other Muslim nations which will be co-ordinated under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Sixthly, never have people been considered too mixed up to be sorted out into separate national units. On the contrary, they have ever been sorted out if and when it has been found necessary to do so. This is proved by the fact that, even after the last war, both in Europe and in Asia, peoples far more mixed up—and far less distinct—than the Muslims and the Hindoos of Hindoostan were sorted out, not only into separate nations but also into separate regions which ultimately became their separate countries.

Seventhly, our struggle for Haidaristan not only will not compromise that for Pakistan and Bangistan—and for the League-forsaken Osmanistan—but will positively help it, and therefore to postpone it will be a double tragedy. For we

shall not only miss our last opportunity to create Haidaristan before the final re-construction of India, but also do a grave disservice to the cause of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Follow the Example of Ancestors

These facts sum up our case for Haidaristan. Indeed, they establish it. If we take our stand on them, we shall strengthen our position, weaken that of our opponents, and inspire our people to act in the spirit of our ancestors who, with small numbers and meagre resources, achieved wonders. I mean the ancestors who in the 7th and 8th centuries, despite the limitations of their human and material assets, devotedly worked for the cause, overcame all opposition, and succeeded in gaining first a toehold, then a foothold, and finally a stronghold in India. Not only that. Unaffected by their successes and undaunted by their difficulties, they pursued their course, extended their struggle, augmented their numbers through the conversion of their enemies, won crowns and kingdoms all over India, and, in the end, left us all a heritage which is still the envy of the world.

That inspiration is all the more essential because to-day, as we set out to reclaim a part of that heritage which lies in Hindoostan, theirs is the noblest example for us to follow. And follow that we must—and we will—with full confidence in our success. As we do so, let us be heartened by the fact that we have several advantages over them. First, our numbers and resources are far greater than theirs. Then, the opposition we are facing is nothing as compared with that which they encountered. Finally, our task is more modest than theirs, for it is limited to the creation of Haidaristan in that part of Hindoostan which has been ours for over a thousand years and will be ours for all time to come.

MUSLIMS OF HINDOOSTAN!

That is the truth of our cause and that the tradition of our ancestors. None can deny the one, and nothing can beat the

other. Both stand supreme; and, given devotion, they spell our salvation.

So, inspired by that truth and animated by that tradition, let us all face the new era, attend to its saving message, and take up the sacred cause of Haidaristan. For, remember, only the creation of Haidaristan can ensure our survival, restore us to our rightful place in the ranks of nations, and enable us to make our national contribution to the rise and recognition of the other nations of the Millat, to the conversion of the Country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, and, above all—far above all—to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

To proclaim and pledge my personal dedication to this sacred cause, I have raised the standard of Haidaristan, and, to rally our patriots round it, I have founded the Haidaristan National Movement. I pray to Allah that He and His Rasool may bless the standard, help me to hold it aloft before the world, and enable me to hand it on to the patriots who will promise undying loyalty to the cause of Haidaristan!

For the Glory of the Faith !

For the Greatness of the Fraternity !

For the Good of the Fatherland !

NOTE

The Statement, *The Millat and Her Ten Nations*, deals with the prerequisites of the successful execution of Part IV of the Pak Plan. That is, the Part which is devoted to the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which was formally inaugurated with *The Millat and The Mission* in 1942.

The Statement sums up the prerequisites of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as the co-operation between our ten national movements, the creation of our ten nations as members of the Millat, and the dedication of them all to the Mission of the Millat. Further, it stresses the vital importance of the preparatory work that can be done for the prerequisites at this stage of the re-construction of the Millat's heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. And finally, to that end, it announces the foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement and asks all parties and organizations of the Millat to extend their support to the Movement.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

First issued 10th June, 1944

Reissued 12th March, 1946

Reissued 15th April, 1947

CHAPTER XIX

THE MILLAT AND HER TEN NATIONS

—o—
Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement
—o—

- I. To Create All Ten Nations in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.
- II. To Institute All Ten Nations as Members of the Millat.
- III. To Co-ordinate All Ten Nations in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.
- IV. To Dedicate All Ten Nations to the Mission of the Millat.

NATIONS OF THE MILLAT!

We all know to our cost that the Round Table Conference held in London from 1930 to 1934 created one of the greatest crises in our history. At this Conference "Indianism," after deceiving us for centuries, at last took off its mask, and, in the name of the All-India Federation and with the backing of the British Imperialism, demanded of us the renunciation of our claim to national life and liberty in our own homelands which it had duped us into keeping incorporated in the country of India. In other words, in order to ensure, with the help of British Imperialism, its own hegemony over us all, it denied our right to distinct nationhood in our own territories, opposed the conversion of these territories into sovereign national states, and thereby attempted to "Indianize" us and our territories, and to deprive our Millat of her heritage throughout India and its Islands.

The Pak Plan

We all know also to our satisfaction that we met this crisis with the Pak Plan in 1933. That is, the Plan which proposes to recover our Millat's heritage in all provinces, states, and other units of India and its Islands and to re-construct it in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Since the publication of the Plan, this re-construction has been the supreme purpose of the lives and labours of us all, and will remain so until its full and final completion.

To complete it we have proceeded step by step. To begin with, I placed before the Millat in 1933 the first Part of the Plan as the ideal of Pakistan; then in 1940, the second Part as that of Bangistan and Osmanistan; and, finally, in 1942, the third Part as that of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia; Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; the Alam Islands in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar and Balus Islands in the Bangian Sea; the fourth as the co-ordination of these national lands and islands under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations; the sixth as the conversion of the Country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies; and the seventh as the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

Thanks to the Millat's heroic response to these ideals, placed before her in the Parts already published, the Plan has mastered the Federal crisis, defeated the sinister designs of "Indianism," and laid the foundations for the rise of our national lands and islands as well as for the re-construction of our Millat's heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak Epoch

That, in brief, is the up to date record of the Pak Plan in solving the immediate problem created by the Federal crisis which arose from the lust for power of "Indianism." In solving the age-old problem of "Indianism" itself, it has done equally well.

It has once and for all destroyed the very basis of "Indianism"; it has closed the old, disastrous Indian Era which was identified with the cult of "Indianism"; it has opened the new, auspicious Pak Epoch which is signalized by the creed of "Pakism."

This it has achieved by initiating three dynamic developments in the ideology of our Millat.

What are these developments?

The first is that for the first time since 638, when we established our earliest contact with the shores of the Pakian Sea, the Plan impelled us to repudiate the false and fatal doctrine of "Indianism," which teaches the uni-national myth that all the nations living in its sphere of influence are Indian; and which misrepresents their lands and islands as mere provinces, constituting the Country of India and its Islands. The second is that for the first time since 711, when we established our original stronghold on the soil of Sindh, it inspired us to create and act upon the saving creed of "Pakism," which proclaims the multi-national fact about all these peoples in these vast and varied lands; and which represents these lands and islands as their national countries and islands, constituting the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. And the third is that for the first time since 1857, when for the only time in our long, eventful history we lost the battle of freedom—freedom for ourselves as well as for others—it moved us to resume that battle in the re-construction of our Millat's heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Symbols are Facts in the Making

Fundamental in character, fiery in appeal, and far-reaching in effect, these are the three developments in the ideology of our Millat, which have sounded the death-knell of the Indian Era and signalized the birth of the Pak Epoch in our history.

To refer to them in such positive terms is not to forget that to-day they are to be seen in mere signs and symbols and names. No. To do that would be not only foolish but also fatal. It is, therefore, simply to record and reiterate before the world our solemn conviction and firm determination that tomorrow they shall be seen in fact and reality.

It is needless to add that this conviction is not blind nor this determination vain. On the contrary, one arises from

the verities of life and the other is animated by the virility of the 110,000,000 of our Millat. What is more, the promise of the ultimate vindication of both is writ large in the pages of History. Even he who runs may read it. It is that the signs and symbols and names of nations and countries, if they spring from the soul of a people as do ours, and are nourished on their service and sacrifice as are ours, always become hard facts and living realities; and that, in the meantime, they hold the respect of friend and foe, as do ours; and in the fulness of time they win recognition from the world, as will ours.

So not for a moment need any one doubt the full materialization of these developments which have signalized the dawn of the Pak Epoch. It may come sooner or it may come later than we wish; but come it will—*Insha Allah*. That is written in the skies.

It will come not because we merely wish it to, but because, to ensure it, we will dedicate our all; we will dare all; we will do all. And this we will, because we know that the achievement of all human ideals, be they individual or national, is the fruit only of absolute dedication as is taught by Islam and blessed by Allah and His Rasool.

DINIA: OUR DESTINATION

Inspired by this dedication and guided by this knowledge we will surge forward and carry on our creative work. We will keep our grip fixed on the fundamentals of our ideology and our gaze on the ultimate aim of that ideology, which is the rise of our nations in our own lands and islands as members of the Millat, their co-ordination in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and their dedication to the Mission of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

This aim is vital. For, it is the very heart and core of the Pak Plan. If it is reached, the whole Plan succeeds; if not, the whole Plan fails. So we must make sure of it, and do so in full realization of the fact that on it depends everything, including the freedom of each one of us and the fortunes of the whole Millat.

How to Make Sure of It

The only way to make sure of it is to see that henceforth "Indianism," in every shape and form, disappears from the councils of our nations and of our Millat; that not even a trace of it is left in the principles, policies, and purposes of our organizations, be they social, educational, or political; that our so-called "All-India" institutions, born of the old historical, national, or territorial cult of "Indianism," are re-created as "All-Dinia" institutions and reared in the new, noble Pak concept of "Dinianism"; and finally that, from now onwards, we all individually and institutionally, nationally and internationally think, speak, and act as nations in our own countries and as members of our own Millat dedicated to the fulfilment of her Mission in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Three Fateful Facts

This transformation, essential by itself, is rendered all the more imperative by three fateful facts.

The first is that the country of India and its Islands are not to-day what they were when we appeared therein, when we flourished therein, or when we fell therein. No. Since those days they have changed radically and are likely to change beyond recognition. This change is charged with grave warnings against creating our nations and reconstructing our Millat *in India*—and to ignore it will be to endanger our future.

The second is that the natural, honourable, and irresistible urge of a people for nationhood, if left unattached to an ideal, higher and greater than mere nationhood, invariably develops a suicidal exclusiveness. That fact, written in letters of blood and fire in our own history of the 18th and 19th centuries as in that of Europe of the present century, urgently calls for an effective safeguard against the self-destructive tendency of mere nationalism. To provide such a safeguard in India is impossible, but in Dinia, certain.

The last is that, whatever nationhood may be to others, to us as Muslims, though important in itself, it has never been and never will be an end by itself.

On the contrary, it has ever been, and ever will be, a means to an end, which is the revival of our Millat as a comity of our nations for the fulfilment of her Mission. Obviously our attachment to India is fatal to our attainment of that end.

Remember the Results of the First Blunder

This reference to these facts reveals the deadly dangers that are inherent in the rise of our nations and the reconstruction of our Millat's heritage in the country of India and its Islands. It does more than that. It points to the assurance of the deliverance, defence, and destiny of our nations and our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. It must therefore make our Indophiles realize the supreme importance of immediately ridding our Millat of "Indianism" and of rearing her in "Dinianism."

To remove any lingering doubts on this issue of issues, they have simply to refer to the fatal results of the first blunder we committed in 711 in building our people and power, our provinces and states in the name, and as part, of the country of India.

From the very beginning, it baptized us all "Indian," blurred our vision of "Millat," and caged us—even as rulers—within India. Not only that. Throughout the centuries—of our supremacy—it blighted the most heroic efforts of our greatest men to integrate our people into nations and our nations into "Millat," and thereby frustrated the Mission of our Millat. And in the end, it led to our military defeat in 1757, to our Milli downfall in 1857, and to the verge of our National and Milli destruction in 1932.

Looking back on past centuries in the light of this sequel, I feel sure none of us will deny that this blunder of 711 altered the whole course of our history, cost us the best opportunity to achieve our destiny in India, and reduced the chances of the triumph of our Faith and Fraternity in the world. Indeed, I feel certain all will admit that, but for this blunder, not only our own history, but also the history of India, of Asia, and of the world would have been written differently—and by

different hands. All will do so because the twelve centuries that have gone by since 711 fully confirm this judgment.

The Call of our History and Hopes

However, the painful sequel of that fatal blunder still remains with us all. It helps us to remember what we have suffered and how we have survived in these centuries. Not only that. It enables us to realize where we stand and what we face today in India, in Asia, and in the world.

Let us therefore see to it that, in this hour of our new dawn, that remembrance and that realization clear our minds of cant and conceit, and open our hearts and souls to the supreme call of our history and hopes. They both urge us to turn once and for all our backs on "India" and our faces towards "Dinia." In other words, they counsel us never again to build in the name and as part of the country of India and its Islands, but ever to build in the name and as part of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies; secondly, never again to fail to provide for the co-existence of our nations and our Millat, but ever to ensure the existence of our nations as members of our Millat in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations; and, finally, never again to subordinate the spiritual interests of our Millat to the secular interests of our nations, but ever to keep them above everything—individual or national.

If we are true to ourselves, we must heed this counsel: for if we do not, we shall deserve—and suffer—re-destruction.

The Need for Milli Organization

Let us, therefore, heed it and avoid the mistakes of the past, meet the demands of the present, and anticipate the needs of the future of our nations and our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. In other words, at this formative stage, let us recognize the absolute importance of the simultaneous growth of our nations and our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. And, to ensure that growth, let us have a Milli organization which is founded and built and worked on the Pak concept of "Dinianism."

For, only such an organization can achieve the rise of our nations as members of our Millat, their co-ordination in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and their dedication to the Mission of our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

FOUNDATION OF THE ALL-DINIA MILLI MOVEMENT

During the past five years I have both privately and publicly urged this need upon all. I have shown the madness of the Muslim League's avowal of India as "The Common Mother Country of Muslims and Hindoos." I have warned all of the great mischief that may be done by this foolish acceptance of the territorial implications of "Indianism." I have called for fundamental changes in the basis and in the aims of our existing "All-India" institutions—changes that would at once de-Indianize and Dinianize them in spirit and outlook as well as in action and scope. But such is the relentless pressure and persuasion of the vested, vicious interests that these institutions have blindly continued to function along the old lines of "All-Indianism" and to confine their aims to the nationhood of only Pakistan and Bangistan.

In my judgment, that is simply to play into the hands of our enemies. Indeed, at this stage of our revival and of "India's" re-organization, it is to compromise the whole future of our Millat. For, it secures nothing, but sabotages everything. On the one hand, it imperils the integrity of even Pakistan and Bangistan—the twin zonal states which represent the apotheosis of the ambitions and aims of these "All-India" institutions. On the other hand, it surrenders to "Indianism" the being and well-being of the 35,000,000 Muslims living outside Pakistan and Bangistan. Thus, in effect, it concedes some of the territorial claims of "Indianism" even over our two nations in Pakistan and Bangistan and chains to the country of India fully one-third of our Millat, living outside these two countries,

In view of the grievous harm that this negative, if not neglectful, policy of these "All-India" institutions is doing to the nationhood of our eight nations outside Pakistan and Bangistan, and to the rise of them all in their own countries and islands as members of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, I have felt in duty bound to meet the need for a "Dinian" organization myself and, to meet it, I have founded the All-Dinia Milli Movement.

In taking this step, I have been equally motivated by the obvious importance of the fact that, if started now when our national movements are beginning their work and our nations are assuming their true form, the Movement will become part and parcel of their lives and thereby prepare the ground for the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. Indeed, as our nations will grow under it, it will from the very beginning help them to live as members of the Millat and to labour not only for their individual national causes but also for the common cause of the security of all and of the Mission of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Basis of the Movement

The basis of the All-Dinia Milli Movement is the equality of our ten national movements between movement and movement, and of our ten nations between nation and nation; the independence of each nation in its individual national homeland, and the supremacy of each national movement in its individual sphere; the common ideology of our national movements and nations, and their common loyalties to the cause of our Millat and her Mission in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Aims of the Movement

The aims of the All-Dinia Milli Movement are:

(a) To claim for our Millat at least ten nations, ten countries, six seas, and four island groups; namely, Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia; Safiistan

and Nasaristan in Ceylon; the Alam Islands in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar and Balus Islands in the Bangian Sea.

(b) To co-ordinate the ten national movements already founded to work for the integration of individual nations in their respective territorial spheres; namely, the Pakistan National Movement, Bangistan National Movement, Osmanistan National Movement, Siddiqistan National Movement, Faruqistan National Movement, Haidaristan National Movement, Muinistan National Movement, Maplistan National Movement, Safistan National Movement, and Nasaristan National Movement.

(c) To animate these movements with the Pak concept of "Dinianism," to organize their work for the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and to foster their dedication to the sacred cause; namely, the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

NATIONS OF THE MILLAT!

In the name of these aims I ask you all to support the All-Dinia Milli Movement. In making this appeal for your support, I feel fortified by the fact that these are the very aims to the achievement of which we all, since 638, remain pledged before Allah and His Rasool, and for the achievement of which have lived and died all our heroes and martyrs, our sages and soldiers, and our kings and emperors.

I expect all will realize that for us there is nothing more beneficent, nothing more blessed, and nothing more binding in life than these aims. They are the foundation of our history and the fount of our hopes, the soul of our lives and the symbol of our liberties. They demand of us that we live, labour, and, if necessary, die for their achievement. For only their achievement can redeem our sacred pledge and honour our great dead, secure our national existence and ensure the

sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

In that realization, let us all turn our faces towards the Holy Kaaba, bow before Allah and His Rasool, and rededicate ourselves to the achievement of these noble, historic aims, handed down to us by our ancestors. And then, as we rise from our *Sajdah*, let us all salute the memory of Marshal Muhammad Qasim and his successors, embrace the cause of their sacrifices, and step forward to make a success of the All-Dinia Milli Movement, which stands for the triumph of that cause in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

For the Glory of the Faith !

For the Greatness of the Fraternity !

For the Good of the Fatherlands !

NOTE

In announcing the foundation of the Dinia Continental Movement, I address this statement to the non-Indian nations who are being de-nationalized—and “Indianized”—by the Indo-British Condominium in the name of the Myth that “India” is “the Country of India,” and that all the peoples living therein are “Indian” by nationality, and their territories, mere provinces of “India.”

I ask the non-Indian nations to give their most careful thought to the supreme issue discussed in this statement, and to extend their fullest support to the Dinia Continental Movement, which stands for the repudiation of that Myth and for the acceptance of the truth that “the Country of India” is “the Continent of Dinia,” and consequently for the recognition of the nationhoods of the non-Indian nations as distinct from the Indian nation, and for the creation of their homelands as countries separate from India.

The Movement stands for the realization of this aim because only that can save the non-Indian nations from “Indianization” and establish their sovereign nationhoods in their separate homelands, enable them to put an end to the Indo-British Condominium, and qualify them to resume their rightful places in the Comity of Nations.

CHOUHARY RAHMAT ALI

First issued 15th May, 1945

Reissued 20th March, 1946

„ 1st May, 1946

„ 12th June, 1946

„ 16th November, 1946

CHAPTER XX

INDIA

The Continent of DINIA or The Country of DOOM?

Sovereign Nations in Homelands
or
Sub-Nations in Hindooslands?

NATIONS OF DINIA!

It is time to realize that we, the non-Indian nations, who comprise the Muslims, Dravidians, Akhoots,* Christians, Sikhs, Buddhs, and Parsis, are, and ever have been, the victims of "THE MYTH OF INDIANISM." That is, the Myth which teaches that India is "the Country of India," i.e., the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos; and which has been built up by the Caste Hindoos, buttressed by the British and, thanks to our own folly, believed by the world.

Past Record of the Myth

False in its origin and foul in its teachings, this Myth, from the very beginning, has wrought havoc and ruin to the cause of human freedom in the world. It has throughout the ages compromised the status of Asia, distorted the history of Dinia, and degraded our peoples who have had the misfortune to live and die in its sphere of domination.

Indeed, such is its evil spirit that, though left stripped of every excuse for its mischievous activity since 711, yet, through-

* Depressed Classes. The word "Akhoot," derived rather irregularly from the Arabic root "Akh," means "brethren." It is the antithesis of the term "Achhoot," meaning Untouchable, which is used by the Hindoos for the Depressed Classes. I have coined it to express the Muslim condemnation of the Hindoo use of the term "Achhoot" for the Depressed Classes, to symbolize the Muslim attitude towards them, and to impress upon them the Islamic creed of the universal Brotherhood of Man.

out the last thirteen centuries of its vogue, it has mentally enslaved and socially enchained, nationally "minoritized" and territorially disinherited us all. Not only that. It has frustrated our spiritual missions and perverted our civilizations, caged us in India and made India herself a country of doom for all—the Indian as well as the non-Indian nations.

Present Rôle of the Myth

Nor has it stopped there. On the contrary, thanks to its priests and parasites, it has remained as active as ever and is now busily engaged in sabotaging the revival and recognition of us all as nations.

That is the cynical rôle which it is playing at present through its first believers, the Caste Hindoos, and its latest beneficiaries, the British Imperialists, who, in spite of their other differences, are co-operating with one another to canonize it anew and to preach its fatal cult with a view to perpetuating its strangle-hold on us all in the Continent of Dinia.

Why are they doing that?

The Caste Hindoos, who are more numerous than all our nations combined, are doing it because to them the existence of the Myth gives an opportunity first of keeping us mixed with themselves, then of disintegrating us as nations, and finally of absorbing us into their Indian nation. The British are doing it because to them, as an imperial power, the existence of the Myth gives an opportunity first of keeping us and the Caste Hindoos intermingled, then of exploiting our conflict, resulting from that intermingling, to strengthen their hold on India, and finally of justifying before the world, by citing the record of that conflict, their imperial rule over all the nations in India.

So it is to maintain their respective positions of sub-lordship and over-lordship that both the Caste Hindoos and the British Imperialists are hymning the Myth and hypnotizing us—the non-Indian nations—into accepting its teachings and, thereby, committing national self-immolation and submitting to the Indo-British Condominium.

To rationalize—and to realize—their aims, they are using two main arguments. First, that the unity of “the Country of India” is too natural to permit of its partition into separate homelands for all the Indian and the non-Indian nations. Secondly, that the constitutional principle of “one country, one nation” is so decisive as to reduce even our hundred and ten million Muslims, sixty million Akhooths, forty million Dravidians, seven million Christians, and six million Sikhs to the position of mere sub-nations and satellites of the Indian nation, and thereby to disqualify each one of us from claiming the status of distinct sovereign nations in our own homelands, *i.e.*, the areas to which we are individually entitled in proportion to our populations in the “Country of India.”

It is obvious that both these arguments are pure cant and casuistry. For, the assumption of the unity of the so-called “Country of India” is contradicted by the facts of its geography and history; and the application to its case of the constitutional principle of “one country, one nation” is disputed by all the canons of International Law.

Might with Method

The truth is that, in their heart of hearts, both the British Imperialists and the Caste Hindoos know this. Yet, in utter disregard of that knowledge, they assume the unity of India, invoke the principle of “one country, one nation,” and enforce both—the mythical unity and the constitutional principle.

What does all this mean?

It means might with method; in other words, a firm stand by the Anglo-Hindoo Entente for their own present and future purposes; and a final warning to us, the non-Indian nations, that, in the name of the Myth, they won't let us be sovereign nations in separate homelands in the Continent of Dinia, but will hold us down as the sub-nations and satellites of the Indian nation in “the Country of India.”

Our Choice: Myth-destruction or Self-destruction

False but final, that is their position. What is ours? It can only be summed up as a choice between life and death; that is to say, between Myth-destruction and Self-destruction. For, it is sun-clear that if we do not destroy the Myth, the Myth will destroy us.

It is, therefore, time for us all to realize the fatefulness of our position, and, in that realization, make our choice.

As we do that, we must remember that, for each one of us, everything is at stake; and that, to save everything, this is our last and best opportunity. For now, as never before, the Myth is not only discredited but also damned; and its supporters, though materially powerful, are morally powerless. They are aware both of the weakness of their case and of the strength of ours. So, if now we all challenge the Myth and give it a smashing blow, it will die a well-deserved death, and we shall all be free. But if we dilly-dally and miss this opportunity, the Indo-British Entente will reimpose it upon us in all its tyranny. In that case, everything will be lost, and we shall all be the slaves of the Indian nation, perhaps for centuries, perhaps for ever.

My Choice is Made

In realization of the fatefulness of our position, so far as I am concerned, my choice is made. It is to destroy once and for all the Myth that India is "the Country of India," to establish for ever the truth that it is "the Continent of Dinia," and thereby save and sovereignize the nations of the Millat and, given the opportunity, help others to do the same for themselves.

In recording this choice, I wish to make no secret of the fact that it is primarily inspired by the duty I owe to my Millat, whose spiritual decay and social decline, whose military defeat and political downfall, were, in my judgment, all due to the teachings of the Myth. Furthermore, it actually represents Part VI of the Pak Plan, which deals with the cause of the

Continent of Dinia, whose creation will write "Finis" to the territorial tyranny practised by the Myth in the name of the geographical unity of "the Country of India." Finally, ideally, I am dedicated to do all I can to make it national and Milli, international and universal, in order to fulfil the mission of my life, which is to change for ever the foundations, the framework, and the form of the political thought, expression, and action of the nations of the Millat and of all other nations, including even the Caste Hindoo, with a view to creating a comity of sovereign nations, living in separate homelands in the Continent of Dinia, working out their individual national destinies in their own ways, and making their individual national contributions to the solution of the common problems of Dinia, of Asia, and of the world.

Let Others Make Their Choice

That is the full and frank explanation of my choice. Dictated as it is by the misdeeds and dangers of the Myth to my Millat, I do hope it will be shared, in their own interests, by all other victims of the Myth. I mean the Dravidians, Akhoots, Buddhs, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis, most of whom have not only suffered at its hands much more than have the Muslims, but are sure to suffer still more. This for obvious reasons. They are, as compared with the Muslims, smaller in numbers, more "Indianized" in outlook, less acutely conscious of the dangers of the Myth, and, consequently, more exposed to its subtle activities, which are ever inspired by its suppressive intentions and soul-killing aims.

I trust they all will endorse this indictment of the Myth and this appraisal of their prospects under its aegis. Indeed they must, because the indictment is based on their own histories and the appraisal is supported by their own present plight as well as by the future programme of the exploiters of the Myth.

If they do, then they must act in realization of the fact that at the root of all their troubles lies this Myth; and that, so long as it exists, for them to try to improve their individual positions vis-à-vis one another is to treat the symptoms of the

disease rather than the disease itself. To be more accurate, it is to trifle with the symptoms and to spread the disease and to have themselves scourged by it.

The Writing on the Wall

Let them make no mistake about it. In the country of India—as for the Muslims, so for them—the fate of national subordination is unescapable. They cannot dodge it; they cannot defy it; they cannot defeat it. The reason is that, even if they achieve the recognition of their distinct nationhoods in the Country of India, they can never be sovereign nations in separate homelands. On the contrary, they will ever be the sub-nations and satellites of the Indian nation in, at best, the re-named regions of India—which is, and ever will be, another name for the Hindoo lands.

That is the writing on the wall. Let them read it and grasp its meaning. In case of any doubt about the fundamental distinction between sovereign nationhood and sub-nationhood, let them refer to the history of the Bavarians of Bavaria in Imperial Germany. It will tell them that, in spite of the recognition of their own state and king, the Bavarians were still a unit of the German nation, their territory still a component state of Germany, and their nationality in International Law still German.

This should convince them that in the Country of India they would, at best, be like the Bavarians in Germany. And even that only politically, not morally. For, morally, they won't have the sense of patriotism and pride in India which the Bavarians had in Germany. The Bavarians had it because they were German and, therefore, for them to merge themselves into Germany was an act of genuine patriotism.

They, the non-Indian nations, cannot have it because they cannot even pretend to be Indian; they cannot even pass off the merging of their entities into India as an act of patriotism. The reason is they simply are not Indian. For if they were Indian, they wouldn't be fighting, like the Muslims, against

being treated as Indian and for being recognized as Dravidians, Akhoots, Buddhs, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis.

That fact alone proclaims the difference between their moral position in India and that of the Bavarians in Germany. Furthermore it explains why, if they keep themselves in India, they won't have any defence before their peoples and posterity. Finally, it shows that if they agree to merge themselves into India, they will belie their national histories, betray their national struggles, and abandon their national hopes. Need one add that, if they do this, they will richly deserve, and certainly receive, the strongest condemnation both from their peoples and from their posterity.

Let them discuss it among themselves and decide it for themselves. I am positive that, in the name of sovereign nationhood, my choice is the only one open to them. Indeed, there never was, and never will be, any other choice. For, history shows that, throughout the ages, in similar crises all proud nations have ever made this very choice and fought to the last man to maintain their sovereign nationhoods.

If they follow this ancient tradition of proud nations and make the choice I have made, then it is mere commonsense that they—the Dravidians, Akhoots, Buddhs, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis—should make common cause with us, the Muslims, in order to destroy the Myth that India is “the Country of India,” and to establish the truth that it is “the Continent of Dinia,” and thereby save and sovereignize themselves as nations.

How to Destroy the Myth and Establish the Truth?

In view of the newness and magnitude of this dynamic choice, the comradely spirits among the nations concerned may well ask how to put it into effect.

I shall answer this question here and show that its implementation depends ultimately on the true realization and propagation by us all of two supreme facts. For, more effectively than anything else, it is our own realization and propagation of these facts which will explode the Myth,

establish the truth, and thereby inspire all to work for the repudiation of the Myth and for the recognition of the truth by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

The Two Supreme Facts

What are these two supreme facts which are so charged with the fate or fortune of us all?

The first is that the vast and varied lands which are now commonly called the "*COUNTRY*" of India are, *geographically as well as historically*, a "*CONTINENT*." And the second is that what is now erroneously known as "*INDIA*"—the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos—is, *creedally as well as humanly*, "*DINIA*"—the joint domain of several religions and fraternities.

First Fact: The *COUNTRY* of India is a *CONTINENT*

I shall start off with the first fact, deal with it both from the geographical and from the historical points of view, and endeavour to prove that the "*Country*" of India is in fact a "*Continent*."

(a) Its Geographical Aspect

Geographically, what is the distinction between a "*country*" and a "*continent*"?

In terms of geography, whereas a "*country*" is just a fair-sized, politically demarcated area of land that possesses some individual characteristics; a "*continent*" is a huge, continuous mass of land that is bordered by mountain chains or high seas, or partly by one and partly by the other. That is what in geography essentially distinguishes a "*country*" from a "*continent*."

Now, if we open our atlases and, in the light of these broad, basic definitions, look at the map of India, we shall observe three outstanding facts and features.

The first is that India is an immense extent of land. In fact, in area it is at least equal to the whole Continent of Europe, excluding Russia.

The second is that, in the north-east, north, and north-west, it is shielded by the highest mountain ranges in the world; and, in the south-east, south, and south-west, its shores are washed by a vast ocean and high seas.

The third is that India is divided off from the Continent of Asia by barriers even more stupendous than those which separate the Continent of Asia from the Continents of Europe and Africa, or the Continent of North America from that of South America.

These three facts are conclusive in themselves; and, taken together, they prove that geographically, in point of size, structure, and setting, India is a "*continent*," not a "*country*"; that actually it possesses all the main characteristics of the continents of the globe; and that semantically, like Asia, Africa, North America, South America, and Europe, it deserves to be termed and treated as a "*continent*" in itself.

(b) Its Historical Aspect

So much for the geographical aspect of the fact that the "*country*" of India is a "*continent*." What of its historical aspect?

In terms of history, whereas a "*country*" means a respectable-sized unit of territory that is, as a rule, uni-lingual, uni-cultural, uni-national, and uni-statal; a "*continent*" signifies an aggregation of such territorial units and is, as a rule, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-national, and multi-statal. In other words, whereas the history of a "*country*" is, in general, that of one land, one language, one culture, one nation, and one sovereign state; the history of a "*continent*" is, in general, that of many lands, many languages, many cultures, many nations, and many sovereign states. That is the fundamental distinction between the history of a "*country*" and of a "*continent*."

Now if in the light of this fundamental distinction we glance at any history text-book on India, we shall find that the history of India is definitely that of a "*continent*," not of a "*country*."

The reason is that, like any other continent, though in its incidentals it is the history of a vast region, inhabited by peoples possessing certain traits of physical affinity and living for a few short spells under administrative unity; yet in its essentials it is the history of many separate countries which have, throughout the ages, been inhabited by many distinct peoples, with different languages, philosophies, and civilizations, and organized for the most part into sovereign states, ruled by their own kings or emperors.

This was the case in the twenty centuries of the Dravidian Period of the history of India, in the twenty-one centuries of the Hindoo Period, and in the twelve centuries of the Muslim Period. Indeed, in its essentials, it is much the same today after the 150 years of the British Period.

The fact that it is much the same today is all the more remarkable because, in the British Period, the vast resources of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente have been systematically employed to destroy the ancient distinctions and divisions of India; yet their indestructibility is such that they have survived in their entirety. The result is that, like any other continent, India remains as divided as ever. I mean divided religiously and ideologically, linguistically and culturally, territorially and nationally.

Again, these facts which, in point of truth, are incontrovertible and, in point of time, cover no less than fifty-five centuries of its history, prove that, historically, India is and ever has been in all but name a "*continent*."

Such is the testimony of geography and history on the first supreme fact—a testimony which proves that India is a "*continent*," not a "*country*."

Second Fact: "INDIA" is "DINIA"

Now I shall deal with the second supreme fact and show that, creedally and humanly, "*India*" is "*Dinia*."

In the discussion of this fact as the words "*India*" and "*Dinia*" are the key words I had better first make their meanings perfectly clear.

To begin with, it should be noted that the word "*Dinia*" is composed wholly of the letters of the word "*India*," the only change involved being the transposition of the central letter *D* in "*India*" to the first place to make it "*Dinia*." That is all.

Then, it should be firmly grasped that, in spite of its origin in the Sanskrit word *Sindhu*, its evolution in the Greek word *Indus*, and its consummation in the present English form, the word "*India*," as applied to these lands, has ever meant, still means, and ever will mean the lands of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos; and the word "*Dinia*," in spite of its origin in the Saracenic word "*Din*" and its evolution in the present Urdu form, signifies and ever will signify the lands of "*Dins*" (religions), whatever they are, and of their followers, whoever they may be. That is to say, whereas the word "*India*" defines the lands as the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos and consequently denies the existence and share therein of Dravidianism and Dravidians, of Akhootism and Akhoots, of Buddhism and Buddhs, of Islam and Muslims, of Sikhism and Sikhs, of Christianity and Christians, and of Zoroastrianism and Parsis, and misrepresents all peoples as Caste Hindoos in the lands of Caste Hindooism; the word "*Dinia*" defines these lands as the joint domain of all the religions and their followers found therein, and consequently acknowledges the existence and share therein of them all, and describes them as the peoples of the lands of religions—without reference to any particular religion or fraternity.

Finally, it should be understood that my sole, supreme reason for defining the lands and describing the peoples by the word "*Dinia*" is the fact that religion as such is the most prominent characteristic of all the peoples living in the lands of "*Dinia*." Indeed it plays the most vital part in their lives and, now as ever, defines their national entities, inspires their national ideologies, shapes their national histories, and sustains their national hopes.

After these explanatory remarks on the significance of the

words "*India*" and "*Dinia*," I come to the discussion of the second supreme fact that, creedally and humanly, "*India*" is "*Dinia*."

"INDIA" was "DRAVIDIA"

First of all we must remember that, in the course of ages, no country or continent in the world has retained its original name, or has always had the same name as it has at the present time. On the contrary, the names of all countries and continents have changed—and will change—with the change of their moral and human content. This is natural; it is logical.

Now, in this respect, what is true of other countries and continents is equally true of India. For, it too has not always been known as "*India*," and cannot hope to be known as "*India*" for ever. Indeed, to go back no further than historical times, from 3500 to 1500 B.C., *i.e.* for twenty centuries, it was actually "*Dravidia*."

Why was it "*Dravidia*"?

The answer is that, throughout those centuries of its history, it was the exclusive domain of Dravidianism and Dravidians—their religion, language, culture, and civilization.

This, in brief, is the creedal and human explanation for India's being "*Dravidia*"—for twenty centuries. Surely it is an explanation which is perfectly valid because in usage, in law, and in history, the right to name an object belongs to him who owns it.

"DRAVIDIA" changed into "INDIA"

How then did "*Dravidia*" become "*India*"?

"*Dravidia*" became "*India*" because—by 1500 B.C.—the Caste Hindoos had completed its conquest, crushed Dravidianism and Dravidians, colonized the lands with their own people, and made them practically the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos—their religion, language, culture, and civilization.

In the process of doing that, they gave the lands a new name

which finally became "*India*" and symbolized the lands as the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos.

That is how "*Dravidia*" was changed into "*India*."

Though the name "*India*" was obviously a misnomer in the case of most of the lands to which it applied and still applies—lands lying thousands of miles away from the Indus—yet one can see that essentially in this change of "*Dravidia*" into "*India*" similar causes produced similar effects. That is to say, the creedal and human factors which first made the lands Dravidia, now made them India.

This state of affairs lasted for centuries; but it couldn't last for ever. Sooner or later it was bound to be challenged and changed. And so it was.

In the sixth century B.C., the first challenge came to it in the birth of Buddhism, and by the end of the third century B.C., the position was definitely altered. But Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos met the challenge, banished Buddhism from the lands, and restored substantially the status quo ante.

"INDIA" converted into "DINIA"

Time marched on; and, in its march, it brought to these lands the Message of Islam in 638, and the Millat of Islam in 711. The result of the arrival of the Message and of the appearance of the Millat was that, after 710, India was no longer "*India*."

What happened to it after 710?

After 710 began its conquest by Muslims. They colonized its lands with their co-religionists, welcomed large numbers of its inhabitants to Islam, and built up a mighty Millat which conquered and ruled it for twelve centuries. What is more, in the course of these centuries, they changed for ever its core and creed, its character and composition; and thereby, from being the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, transformed it into the joint domain of at least three great religions and three great fraternities—Dravidianism and Dravidians (who had revived under Islam), Caste

Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, Islam and Muslims. In other words, from 711 onwards they slowly but surely converted India into "*Dinia*."

It is hardly necessary to add that the explanation of the conversion of India into "*Dinia*" lies in the same creedal and human grounds as those which made it first "*Dravidia*," and then "*India*."

The clock of history didn't stop there either. It never does. It kept ticking away century after century and, in that process, turning out fresh forces. One of these forces was Sikhism and Sikhs. It appeared in 1499 as the fourth party in these lands—still misnamed India, the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos. Naturally the appearance of this party made the lands, despite their misnomer, the joint domain of four great religions and four great fraternities and thereby, creedally and humanly, still further confirmed them as "*Dinia*."

"The world's a scene of changes," they say. The world—and, one may add, India in particular! The relative significance of the appearance of Sikhism and Sikhs, as the last party, endured only up to 1757. In that year there came, in organized form, Christianity and Christians to these lands, still mis-styled India—the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos. This added yet another religion and another fraternity to the existing seven religions and seven fraternities, including Akhootism and Akhoots, Buddhism and Buddhs, Zoroastrianism and Parsis, and thereby still further exposed the falsity of calling the lands "*India*"—the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos—and established the truth of their being "*Dinia*"—the joint domain of Dravidianism and Dravidians, Akhootism and Akhoots, Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, Buddhism and Buddhs, Islam and Muslims, Sikhism and Sikhs, Christianity and Christians, and Zoroastrianism and Parsis.

This concludes the discussion of the second supreme fact and shows that creedally and humanly India is "*Dinia*."

"DINIA" DEMANDS RECOGNITION

The proof of these two supreme facts once and for all destroys the Myth that India is "*the Country of India*" and establishes the truth that it is "*the Continent of Dinia*."

Further, it shows that, in re-canonizing the Myth and in rejecting the truth, the Indo-British Entente is not only perpetuating a crime against our seven religions and seven fraternities, but also committing a fraud upon humanity and a falsification of history.

Furthermore, it confers on us the right to demand the formal repudiation of the Myth and the full recognition of the truth from the Caste Hindoos, from the British, and from the world; and imposes upon us the duty to press that demand at all costs and with all the power at our command.

Finally, it ensures us the support of the science of semantics, of the practice of nations, and of the commonsense of mankind. For, the science of semantics lays down the rule that, to be true, a name or title must signify the reality of the subject named—a rule which has already been acted upon in changing the old myth-born names of the present-day provinces of "India." The universal practice proclaims that the names of most countries and continents, and of all nations and fraternities, do reflect their content, character, and composition. And the commonsense of mankind declares that to call "the Continent of Dinia" "*the Country of India*" is at least as absurd as to call America, *Red India*; Tunis, *Carthage*; France, *Gaul*; or Afghanistan, *Gandhara*.

NATIONS OF DINIA!

For centuries we have blindly submitted to "the Myth of Indianism" and suffered damnation. That submission and that suffering must now end. For now we know the truth and must work to ensure our salvation. To do that successfully and speedily, we must unite to exercise our right and to fulfil our duty in order to create the Continent of Dinia. We must realize that, whatever may be our differences on other issues,

the cause of the Continent of Dinia is common to us all; and that on its success depends the national life and liberty, the national position and status of us all—Muslims, Dravidians, Akhhoos, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhs, and Parsis.

Inspired by this realization we must begin to exercise our sovereign right and to discharge our solemn duty by first of all recognizing the truth of the Continent of Dinia ourselves. This is most vital. The laws of Nature demand it as do the laws of Nations. They demand it because, in Nature, inner-recognition ever precedes outer-recognition; and, in the Comity of Nations, self-recognition is the pre-requisite of world-recognition.

Let us, therefore, conform to the laws of Nature and of Nations and make the beginning with our own recognition of the Continent of Dinia. In so doing, let us feel fortified by the fact that we do not deny the existence and interests of any religion or fraternity; that we demand merely the recognition of the existence, and of the interests, of our own religions and fraternities; and that, for us, not to demand that recognition would be an act religiously of renegation, morally of self-degradation, territorially of self-disinheritance, and nationally of self-destruction.

Foundation of the Dinia Continental Movement

To exercise my own right and to discharge my own duty I have made this beginning; and, to work for the recognition of the Continent of Dinia, I have founded the Dinia Continental Movement. It is a movement which transcends all "communalisms" and "nationalisms," all "provincialisms" and "regionalisms"; and which means to give them all a higher and nobler significance.

Its membership is open to all those people who, irrespective of religion and race, of nationhood and nationality, of local patriotism and territorial allegiance, believe in the cause of the Continent of Dinia and are prepared to work for its success and triumph.

I ask all such people to join the Movement, the aim of which is to remove the denationalizing, disinheriting, and dispiriting effects of "*Indianism*" and to introduce the nationalizing, acknowledging, and inspiring influences of "*Dinianism*." In other words, the Movement stands for the replacement of "*Indianism*" by "*Dinianism*" and of "*Countryism*" by "*Continentalism*." This it does for the good of all the nations concerned. For, only "*Dinianism*" and "*Continentalism*" can save the nations from the doom awaiting them in the Country of India, and secure them their permanent deliverance in the Continent of Dinia. That is, a Continent of sovereign nations, living in separate homelands, working out their individual national destinies in their own ways, and making their individual national contributions to the solution of the common problems of Dinia, of Asia, and of the world.

In that spirit, I ask all fraternities—Dravidian, Akhoot, Caste Hindoo, Buddh, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, and Parsi—to support the Dinia Continental Movement and so actively vindicate the sincerity of their oft-expressed interest in the true welfare of all nations and all religions. For, it is that welfare of all nations and fraternities which the Movement seeks in the conversion of the Country of India into the Continent of Dinia.

It seeks that welfare in that conversion because nothing else can ensure the realization of the individual nationhoods of all nations in their separate homelands, the recognition of the equality of all nations in the Comity of Nations, the reflection of their equality as nations in the overall name "*Dinia*" for all the lands of the Continent, and the creation among them all of such a sentiment of common unity, of such a sense of common duty, and of such a spirit of common destiny as will inspire them all to live, to labour, and, if necessary, to die for the name and fame, for the freedom and independence, and for the progress and prosperity of the whole Continent of Dinia.

This is the message and mission of the Dinia Continental Movement. It is a message and mission which springs from

the eternal laws of life, spells the liberation of all nations and fraternities, and promises the fulfilment of the destiny of one-fourth of mankind, living in the lands of the Continent of Dinia.

Let all—the Indian and the non-Indian nations—study it. Let those who differ divine a nobler message and mission. Let those who agree work for it—and wait for the verdict of History. I am positive that that verdict will acclaim this message and mission, bless the workers, and vindicate the Dinia Continental Movement.

Long Live The Nations of Dinia!

Long Live The Countries of Dinia!

Long Live The Continent of Dinia!

CHAPTER XXI

PAKISTAN AND THE MUSLIM WORLD

Pakistan is a Muslim land and as such it primarily belongs to the Muslim world, with which its fate and fortune are indissolubly linked. This is a fact of fundamental importance and it demands that we clearly understand the position of Pakistan in the Muslim world, and the part it does, or will, play in the affairs of that world. For such an understanding will help both itself and other countries of the Crescent as well as the rest of the world.

To be able to do that we must begin by forming some idea of the Muslim world itself, its area, and its population.

First, the area. The total area of the present-day world of Islam is about ten million square miles, which is about twenty per cent. of the globe. This means that, despite the havoc which the past two centuries have played with its heritage, the Muslim world still covers a considerable portion of the earth.

Now, the area of Pakistan, comprising at present only our Indian homelands, is 521,000 square miles. This shows that territorially Pakistan constitutes about five per cent. of the Muslim world; and it is the seventh largest country in that world.

Secondly, the population. The population of the Muslim world approximates 400 millions, which is distributed over all the seven continents of the world—Asia, Dinia, Australasia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. This number forms one-fifth of the whole human race, and it bears testimony to the great strength of Islam. It is a strength of which every Muslim may be justly proud; for, as compared with the much older religions, Islam has achieved it in only thirteen centuries of its life.

Now, the population of Pakistan is fifty-five millions. This means that it is about one-seventh of the total population of the Muslim world—a fact which makes Pakistan numerically

the second largest country in the Muslim world; the first being Bangistan with a population of seventy millions.

Such is the territorial and numerical standing of Pakistan in the Muslim world. Though in itself important, this does not exhaust the significance of Pakistan to the Muslim world. In fact it leaves out some equally important aspects of Pakistan without which one cannot appreciate the true position of the country.

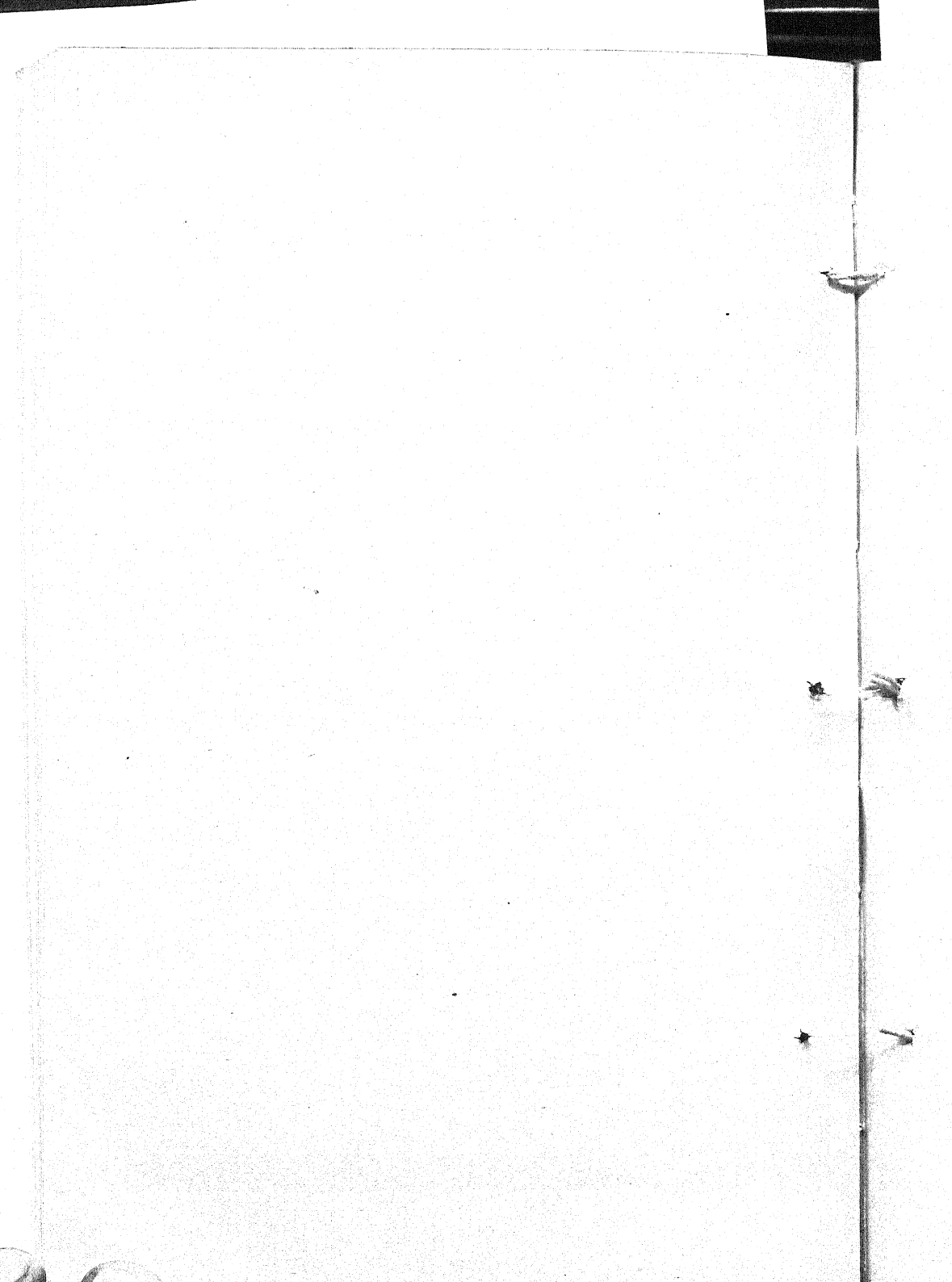
What are these aspects? To most of them we have already referred in earlier chapters. For instance, we have shown that Pakistan is, geographically, the heart of the Orient; spiritually, a bulwark of Islam against Caste Hindooism; politically, a buffer state which covers one of the most vulnerable frontiers of the world of Islam; and, strategically, an impregnable citadel standing between Muslim Asia and Hindoo Dinia.

Further, we have explained that from the viewpoint of the world communications, which now more than ever play a vital role in the destinies of nations, Pakistan is a pivot of universal importance. For, with the vast improvements in land and air communications, it is becoming a junction on the most direct land and air route between Dinia, Europe, and Asia.

This brief reference to the geographical and strategic position of Pakistan speaks for itself. Taken with the territorial and numerical position of the country, it shows how important is the existence of Pakistan to the Fraternity and how vital is its freedom and independence to itself, to Dinia, to Asia, and to the whole world of Islam. I say the whole world of Islam because the safety and security of that world is inter-dependent. It is inter-dependent not only spiritually but also economically, politically, and militarily. This is natural. For the world of Islam was created and consolidated only through the unity and integrity of the Fraternity, and therefore only by the same means can it be preserved and perpetuated.

This is a truth which, though often forgotten, is vital. It is born of the long centuries that have passed since the birth of Islam; and it is impressed upon us by all the triumphs and tragedies of our history. That is, the triumphs associated with Cordova on the Guadalquivir, Cairo on the Nile, Baghdad on the Tigris, Delhi on the Jamna, and Istanbul on the Bosphorus; and the tragedies suffered at Karbala in Iraq, at Tours in France, at Granada in Spain, at Vienna in Austria, at Plassey in Bangistan, and at Delhi in Pakistan itself. From all these ancient, historic places the saving message that comes to us is that the Fraternity's heritage and hopes are one and indivisible. It is a message which any one of us with an ear for the echoes of history can hear repeated day after day in the death-stilled voices of our heroes and martyrs who died for the Faith and the Fraternity.

It must therefore be treated by all members of the Fraternity as a solemn warning against indifference to the integrity and security of any part of the Muslim world, and as a supreme call to act on the saving maxim "United we stand and divided we fall." To do otherwise would be to invite disaster; for we are all living in dangerous times. This is nowhere more so than in the Orient, where in addition to other imperialisms which we all know and which we all oppose, an old hegemony is rising again in all its ruthlessness. I mean the Caste Hindoo hegemony, which is supported by its 250 million beneficiaries; and which, at the present stage in its growth, few outside Dinia recognise, fewer regard with apprehension, and fewer still resist with determination. Yet the fact remains that this hegemony, which is in league with British Imperialism, is the greatest menace to the peace of the Orient. It denies the right of existence not only to Pakistan, but also to other nations of the Millat in Pakasia. It is therefore painfully clear that should it succeed in its sinister designs, it would be a calamity—a calamity which would involve the destiny of the whole world of Islam.



PART V

Pakistan and The Future

CHAPTER XXII

PAKISTAN AND ITS PROSPECTS

What are the prospects of Pakistan? Will it be recognised by the world? If so, can it endure; can it complete its mission in Dinia; and can it become a great nation in the world? Such are the questions which have been widely asked; and which we shall endeavour to answer in this, the concluding chapter of the book.

Now, it is axiomatic that to judge the future of a nation one must consult its record, its resources, and its position in the world. That is, its record, remote as well as recent; its resources, moral as well as material; and its position, including perils as well as opportunities. For it is only on such things as these that the future of a nation can be built, and it is only from them that its fortunes can be told.

This being so, we must survey these factors to find an answer to the above questions about the prospects of Pakistan.

First, let us take the record of Pakistan. This, as already shown in our earlier chapters, is second to none in the world. It is a record of great achievements for its own people and of remarkable work for the peoples of Dinia; of brilliant services to the cause of the Fraternity, and of memorable contributions to the welfare of Mankind. That this is no exaggeration is borne out by history and admitted even by the enemies of Pakistan.

It is needless to add that in essence the above statement applies also to the recent record of Pakistan, which is symbolized by its miraculous rise from its ashes. That is, the rise which promises the liberation of all victims of the British-Bania hegemony in India; and which is admired by its friends, feared by its enemies, and appreciated by the world.

From the record of Pakistan let us turn to its resources—

moral as well as material. So far as the latter are concerned, the chapters on Agriculture and Irrigation, Trade and Commerce, and Mines and Minerals conclusively prove that they are considerable, and, if handled wisely, sufficient to sustain and secure the life and freedom of the country.

So far as the moral resources are concerned, they are inexhaustible. They are born of our history, which inspires us to work for the recognition of our Fatherland; and if necessary to shed the last drop of our blood for it. This gives us an enviable unity on the issue of Pakistan—a unity, which is reflected in the fact that whether our people belong to the Pakistan National Movement or to the All-India Muslim League, or to any other political organization or even to none, they are all dedicated to the cause of Pakistan. Surely this is a moral asset of which any country would be proud.

This brings us to the present position of Pakistan, and to its perils and opportunities. These call for a very careful examination; for, the way we face them is bound to have a decisive effect on the future of Pakistan.

Now, essentially speaking, the present position of Pakistan is very promising. As already stated, it is a position created and sustained by our whole Millat's support of the demand for Pakistan; and, what is more, it is continuously improving with time. For, with each day that passes, the appeal of Pak ideology is spreading throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies and winning new supporters for the cause of Pakistan.

This has already morally established Pakistan, and politically brought nearer its recognition by the world. It has broken the opposition of the British-Bania Alliance, and weakened that of the minorities in Pakistan itself. It has put them all on the defensive and made them think of protecting their own interests rather than of opposing the birth-right of Pakistan. Finally, it has changed the attitude of the whole world, not only towards the demand for Pakistan, but also towards the destiny of Islam in India.

In the light of this it is no exaggeration to say that the recognition of Pakistan by the British-Bania Alliance and by the comity of nations is certain; and that, if we ourselves remain true and firm—as we will—it will come sooner than at present seems possible.

That said, let us study the perils and opportunities of the present position of Pakistan, and for the purposes of this discussion divide them into internal and external.

To take the internal perils first. That is, the perils which arise from our mistakes or which are inherent in the very position of Pakistan.

The first of these perils arises from the folly of the All-India Muslim League in treating the Panjab as the south-east frontier province of Pakistan, and in ignoring the Jamna River as the boundary between Pakistan and Hindoostan. This endangers our title to the Eastern Panjab and to the cis-Jamna territory right up to Allah Abad—the region which includes such inspiring centres of Pak glory as Panipat, Delhi, and Aagrah.

The second peril arises from the exclusion of the Jammun and Kashmir State from Pakistan—an exclusion which, like the renunciation of the cis-Jamna territory, has been made in our name, but without our authority, by the All-India Muslim League. This is a mortal peril. It involves the very existence of Pakistan and of Jammun and Kashmir as Muslim lands; for Pakistan without Jammun and Kashmir will be *Pastan*—a story of the past—and Jammun and Kashmir without Pakistan will soon become Caste Hindoolands.

The third peril arises from the recognition of the sovereign status of the princely states in Pakistan—a recognition made in our name, but without our authority, by the All-India Muslim League. This recognition creates at least six Sikhistans and thirty Hindoostans inside one Pakistan. Now we all know that two kings in one country is a proverbial impossibility; but do we realize that thirty-six countries within one country is a suicidal insanity?

The fourth peril is created by the acceptance on 19th May, 1946, of the British Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16th May, 1946—an acceptance recommended by Quisling-i-Azam Jinnah on the most humiliating grounds known to history, and made in our name, but without our authority, by the All-India Muslim League. This Plan being the very negation of Pakistan, as of the Pak Plan and the Pak ideology, its acceptance means the acceptance of a death-sentence on Pakistan, and on other Muslim countries in Dinia.

In view of that, this acceptance of the British Plan by the Leaguers, like that of the Indian Federation by them in 1933, had to be repudiated. This I did in the following statement, which was issued to the Press on 20th May, 1946:—

**The Pakistan National Movement
and
The British Verdict on India**

The British Verdict

I have carefully studied the British verdict on the future of India and have come to the definite conclusion that it is one of the most biased and vicious verdicts in history. It gives absolute and eternal supremacy to the Caste Hindoos over the whole Continent of Dinia, denies elementary nationhood and sovereignty to the Muslims even in the two countries of Pakistan and Bangistan, seals for ever the fate of all non-Indian nations including the Dravidian, the Akhoot (the Achhoot), and the Christian, and seeks to perpetuate the opportunity for British interference in the affairs of the Continent.

The British Plea

The British are trying to justify this mischievous verdict on the plea of the unity, the defence, and the communications of India and of the insolubility of her Minority Problem. Obviously, that plea is pure cant. It cannot convince the peoples of the Continent of Dinia. It will not confuse the political world. The facts are dead against it—and, what is more, they expose its hollowness.

Firstly, **the Unity of India** has never existed and can never exist with her present territorial and human composition, which is arbitrary and unhistorical. Secondly, **the Defence of India** can, in no case, justify the destruction of the non-Indian nations in the Continent; otherwise the defence interests of bigger nations would become the supreme arbiter of the fate of smaller nations in the world. Further, like the defence of any other country, the defence of India depends, morally, not on her continental size, but on the patriotic devotion of her nations, which the verdict renders impossible; and, militarily, not on her space for "defence in depth," but on the sharpness and range of her weapons. This is all the more true in this atomic age, which is characterized by weapons of unprecedented destructiveness as well as of illimitable range, and in which "defence in depth" has lost its old meaning. If this were not so, all those countries, including Britain, which are smaller than India and consequently without her space for "defence in depth," could not hope to keep their national freedom and sovereign status. Thirdly, **the Communications of Continental India** do not bar the recognition of her nations' countries any more than the communications of Continental Europe bar the recognition of European countries. Finally, **the Insolubility of the Minority Problem in India** exists only in the British imagination; for a full and fair solution of that problem is provided in the Pak Plan, which was originally published in 1933 and has thus been before the world for thirteen years.

The Paks & the British Verdict

So much for the British plea, justifying the verdict. As for the British hope that Muslims will accept that verdict, I declare, in the name of the Pakistan National Movement, that we will never accept it and that we will ever oppose it by all possible means. This we will do for the following reasons:—

To begin with, the verdict reduces our hundred million Muslims from the status of a mighty Millat to the position of a mere minority. Then, it denies the right to sovereign

nationhood of the Muslims of North-West India in Pakistan, of North-East India in Bangistan, of the Deccan in Osmanistan, of Central India in Siddiqistan, of Bihar and Orissa in Faruqistan, of Hindoostan in Haidaristan, of Rajistan in Muinistan, and of South India in Maplistan. Finally, it "Indianizes" our nations and countries and establishes Caste Hindoo hegemony over our Millat, over one-fourth of mankind, and over the whole Continent of Dinia.

The Paks & the Basis of Negotiations

In rejecting the British verdict, I repudiate also the false and fatal basis on which the Muslim politicians negotiated the Millat's future with all other parties concerned, and any agreements they may have reached on that basis. I mean the basis: —

- (a) That "India" is *the Country of India*; when in fact she is *the Continent of Dinia*;
- (b) That the hundred million Muslims are a mere nation; when in fact they are a mighty Millat, comprising a community of eight nations in the Continent.
- (c) That the Muslims demand only two states in the *Country of India*, namely, Pakistan and Bangistan; when in fact they demand, and are entitled to, at least, eight states in *the Continent of Dinia*, namely, Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan;
- (d) That Kashmir is excluded from Pakistan; when in fact it is an integral and inseparable part of Pakistan and its exclusion will, literally and morally, nationally and militarily, turn *Pakistan* into *Pastan*;
- (e) That the Muslims, living outside Pakistan and Bangistan, are and will remain "Minority Communities" in the Hindoo-majority Regions of

India; when in fact they are distinct nations and, as such, cannot—and will not—remain in the degrading and dangerous position of “Minority Communities” in the Hindoo-majority Regions of India; and

- (f) That India will have a common Central Government to control her Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Communications; when in fact the very formation of such a government will be fatal to the life, the liberty, and the sovereignty of our nations and our Millat.

The Paks & the Transfer of Power in India

This brings me to the over-all issue of the “transfer of power” in India. On that supreme issue, I declare that we will never recognize any transfer of power made by the British to the Caste Hindoos. For, we maintain that a valid transfer of power can be made only to the rightful representative of Emperor Siraj-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, who would delegate it to, and divide it among, all nations as his forefathers did throughout the centuries of their supremacy. It can be made only to him because it was from his ancestors or their Muslim, Hindoo, or Sikh viceroys that the British finally grabbed power in India in 1857.

In this connection it is important to remember that what is called power, privilege or position, whether it be personal or family or national, is, in law as in equity, an important part of human moral assets, the disposition of which, like that of material assets, is, and has ever been, governed by the principles of grant and reversion, of succession and inheritance. No one can ignore these principles. They constitute the very foundation of human society, of international comity, and of universal morality; and, in the case of India, they demand the transfer of power by the British to the rightful representative of the house of Emperor Bahadur Shah.

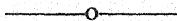
This view of the Pakistan National Movement is fully supported by the whole record of history. It is also supported

by British precedents. To cite only two: one, Indian; and the other, foreign. It was in compliance with the truth of the principle inspiring this view, that the British restored, in 1799, the power to rule the Mysore State to the rightful representative of the Maharaja of Mysore to whom it had belonged before his defeat and dethronement by Muslims in 1762. And, secondly, in 1941, they with their allies restored the power to rule the Abyssinian Empire to Emperor Haile Selassie, who had been defeated and deprived of his Empire by the Italians in 1936.

The Paks' Appeal to the Muslims

That sums up the view of the Pakistan National Movement on the British verdict on the future of India, and we hope that the view of other Muslim parties and organizations would be similar. In any case, we stand by it and ask all Muslims to act with courage and conviction, to reject the British verdict, and to join our struggle for the creation of Muslim nations in Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan, for the co-ordination of these nations in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, for the formal conversion of *the Country of India* into *the Continent of Dinia*, and for the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission in the Continent.

This is the call of the Pakistan National Movement. Indeed, it is the call of the duty and destiny of all Muslims. Therefore, we must—and we will—all answer it like true Muslims, for on our answer depends not only the survival, safety, and sovereignty of the nations of our Millat in the Continent of Dinia, but also the future and fortunes of our Faith and Fraternity in Asia and in the world.



I am glad to be able to say that this repudiation, supported as it was by our *Jamhour*, has had the desired effect. For just as the "Now or Never" Declaration of 1933 made the

Muslim Delegates to the Round Table Conferences realize their blunder in demanding and accepting the Indian Federation, so the above statement is making the Leaguers conscious of the grave mistake committed by them in accepting the British Plan. In fact, they are now trying to wriggle out of that acceptance. It is to be hoped, however, that this time, and on this issue, they will not take seven years to withdraw their acceptance and reverse their policy as they did last time on the Federal issue. For now the whole situation is changed so radically and the events are moving so rapidly that to dilly-dally would be to court an irretrievable disaster.

In this connection it is important to note some significant statements of the British-Bania Alliance expressing their willingness to consider a sort of Pakistan. That is, not the Pakistan as created, defined, and demanded by the Pakistan National Movement, but what they are careful enough to distinguish as the Pakistan "adopted, defined, and demanded by the Muslim League." Surely this is a cunning attempt to fob off our people with *Pastan*; for, thanks to the distortion of Pakistan by Quisling-i-Azam Jinnah, the "Muslim League conception of Pakistan" is perverse and "Pakistan as demanded by the Muslim League" puerile. That is why the Alliance is inclined to negotiate about it with the Muslim League.

In view of this, I wish to declare once again that the Pakistan National Movement will never accept any settlement reached between the British-Bania Alliance and the League, if it is inconsistent with the objects mentioned in the above statement; and that the Movement would tear such a settlement to pieces, as it tore the Federal Constitution of 1935, and as it is tearing the British Plan of 16th May, 1946.

The fifth peril is born of the fact that most of the parties which have lately adopted Pakistan as their ideal are neglecting the supremacy of religion in the Pak ideology. Obviously this is dangerous to Islam, to the whole cause of Pakistan, and

to our Mission in Dinia. For, even from the point of view of politics, religion constitutes the fundamental source of Pak ideology and the greatest cementing force among our people. If we do not raise it to its paramount place in our national life and in our national struggle for Pakistan, it will, apart from other things, endanger the very existence and evolution of Pakistan. For one thing, it will re-disintegrate us into Panjabis, Pathans, Kashmiris, Sindhis, and Balochis by reviving that "provincialism" which more than once weakened the solidarity of our Millat, and undermined the cohesion of our Commonwealth in Dinia. For another thing, it will so blunt the appeal of Pak ideology to our brethren in Iran, Afghanistan, and Tukharistan as to delay their integration with us; and thus leave our nation in our "Indian" and "Asian" homelands divided into small, helpless communities, and exposed to the menace of re-destruction by our enemies. For yet another, it will, to say nothing of its ill-effects on the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, of the Continent of Dinia, and of the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, loosen our fraternal bonds with Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safistan, and Nasaristan.

Lastly, there is the peril which will, if rumours are true, arise from the understanding between Quisling-i-Azam Jinnah and the British Government to make Pakistan, in one form or another, a dominion or a satellite state of Britain; and to grant to Britain strategic bases on the soil of Pakistan. Obviously this peril, if it materializes, will be as mortal as was the peril of Jankiism which marred the rise of Pakistan in 712, and of Jaafarism which sabotaged the struggle of Bangistan in 1757. For, it will paralyze Pakistan at its birth and claim its life before its growth.

This brings us to the external perils of Pakistan. For obvious reasons these cannot all be discussed at this stage. For one thing, they will depend on the final demarcation of

the yet ill-defined boundaries of Pakistan, and for another they will involve the delicate subject of foreign relations.

All one can do at present is first to draw attention to the geographical position of Pakistan, and secondly to stress the inveterate hostility of the British-Bania Alliance towards Pakistan. It is plain that the former calls for a most sagacious handling of the affairs of Pakistan if we are to avoid the fate of countries like Belgium and Poland; while the latter urges us to remember the trials through which we have passed since 1857—to say nothing of our earlier tribulations—and to prepare ourselves to counteract the moves and manoeuvres of the Alliance against the full integration of Pakistan. For it is certain that just as the Alliance did all it could to crush us in the past, so it will miss no chance to cripple us in the future.

After this we come to the opportunities of Pakistan, which are unlimited—in India, in Asia, and in the Muslim world.

They are unlimited in India because there such momentous happenings are in train as will transform it into the Continent of Dinia. Let there be no doubt on this point. The old India is dying and in its place a new Dinia is dawning on the horizon of history. No earthly power can prevent it. For both the death of India and the dawn of Dinia are the manifestation of the Will of Allah.

This development symbolizes a turning-point in history. That is, a point which is reached but once in ages in the life of countries and continents and which, once reached, is always pregnant with incalculable possibilities for people possessing the clarity of vision and the courage of their convictions. Fortunately those are the very qualities which Islam has given us, and with them we have, if we will, the chance to recover our whole heritage, and to complete our holy Mission.

To be able to accomplish this, we must *now* take the first step in that direction, and safeguard effectively the national future of the Muslim minorities in the Hindoo-majority regions

of the old India. This is an absolute pre-requisite to the recovery of our heritage and to the completion of our Mission. To make sure of that is, apart from any other considerations, our sacred obligation. For one thing, these minorities are an inalienable part of our heritage and active partners in our Mission. For another thing, they have, in our struggle for Pakistan, heroically stood by us and suffered for so doing. Naturally therefore they expect us to stand by them and to struggle and suffer for their security. This is all the more understandable because their future in the Hindoo-majority regions would be much darker than ours could ever be within India.

There was a time when it could have been reasonably said that we would see to their security after achieving the independence of Pakistan, but that time is gone. It went in 1942. So to-day is the best—if not the last—opportunity to safeguard their future. I say the best because in the present state of India we can, as part of a settlement of the claims of our whole Millat, effectively protect their national being and well-being. To miss this opportunity will be to fail in our sacred duty and to invite the besmirching verdict of history that to save ourselves we sacrificed our weaker brethren and the cause of our Millat.

After India, Asia. There, too, the opportunities of Pakistan are equally great and for equally good reasons. Like India, Asia is in the throes of a change—a change which, though not so swift or spectacular, will when complete be as fateful as the one in India. It will transform the Continent of Asia into the Continent of Eurasia and cause repercussions the like of which the world has not known since the rise to power of Islam in the 8th century.

In view of that, it is obvious that while this change is proceeding in Asia, we have, *after achieving the independence of our Indian homelands*, the opportunity to ensure, among other things, their integration with our "Asian" homelands.

I will unify the nationhood of all our peoples in all our homelands in India and Asia; and it is absolutely vital to the security of our nation, of our Millat, and of our Fraternity.

Finally, the Muslim world. The opportunities of Pakistan in the Muslim world are unique. They are such as rarely arise and present themselves to people, but when they do, they can, if seized, lead to imperishable glory. In our case they are to be found in the supreme chance to save the Islamic civilization which is now passing through a grievous crisis. In fact, in most of the countries of the Crescent, it is losing ground before rival civilizations which are competing with it for the allegiance of Muslims as of the rest of Mankind. It is going under, not because of any fundamental weakness in itself, or because of any superior virtue in its rivals, or because of the so-called "Modernism" of this age; but solely because of the failure of Muslims to observe it themselves. Otherwise, so far as its elements are concerned—and in civilizations it is these which matter—they are as sound and beneficent to-day as ever.

This failure is a tragedy, which is being enacted all over the Muslim world, and most of all by our "Europeanized intellectuals and leaders." To realize this, one has simply to look at them—their dresses, their habits, their manners, and their whole outlook on life. They all look the apes—and agents—of European civilization, for which they perversely discard their own. It is possible that only some of them are doing so consciously, and the rest unconsciously; but the fact remains that, consciously or unconsciously, they are all doing it. Worse. By their example, and with the encouragement of the protagonists of that civilization, they are influencing our masses to do the same.

This is the most ominous feature of the present position of our civilization. I say the most ominous because history shows that civilizations wither and die when men cease to believe in them; when they cease to live them in practice; when they cease to defend them as the precious gift of their faiths, and

the proud legacy of their forefathers. Let us make no mistake about it. This view of history is confirmed by scriptures, which tell us that all past civilizations disappeared primarily because they were deserted by their own adherents.

From this every Muslim should realize that the present position of Islamic civilization is full of peril; that it demands the devoted attention of all of us; and that it offers all of us a great opportunity to serve and save our civilization.

It is the good fortune of us Paks that no nation is more qualified to render this service than we are; for no one believes more firmly in the cause of Islamic civilization than we do. This being so, we must rise to the height of our opportunity and devote ourselves to its revival—a revival which will enrich not only our own Fraternity, but also the rest of humanity.

This concludes our reference to the history, the resources, and the present position of Pakistan. It entitles us to declare that, inspired by this history and equipped with these resources, Pakistan faces the future with confidence.

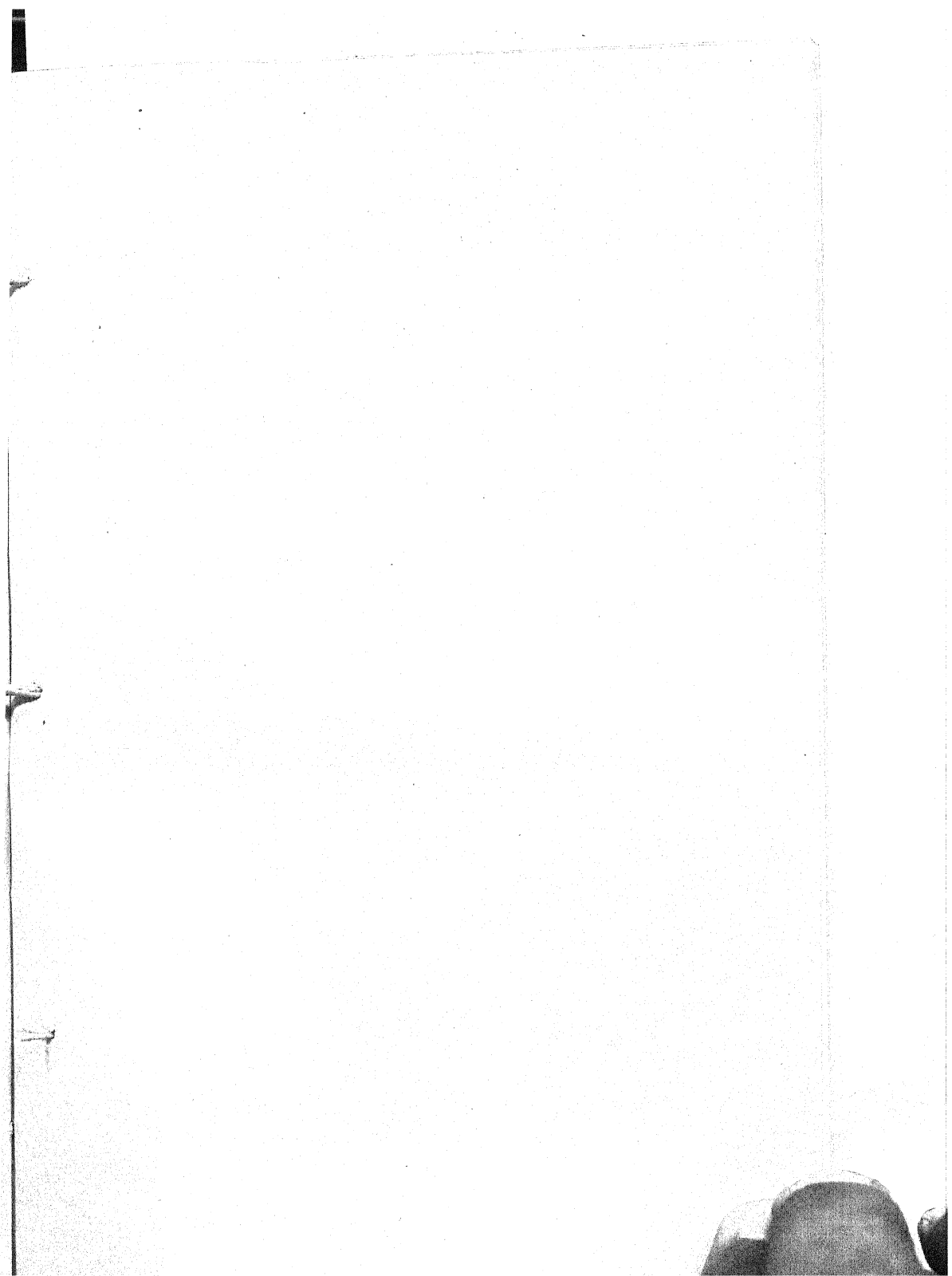
It does so in the sure knowledge that we, the Paks, are rising again to complete our Mission. That is, the Mission to which we dedicated ourselves in 638; for which we have lived and died throughout the last thirteen centuries; and in which we seek our safety and salvation.

What is that Mission?

We have already stated that our Mission is not only the recreation of the original Pakistan, or even the creation of Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan. It is not even the consolidation of all these countries in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. It is more than that; it is nobler than that; it is mightier than that. It is nothing short of the conversion of the Country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and the organization of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia,

That, in a word, is our Mission, to which we have re-dedicated our lives. It is to complete this Mission that we march to-day. We march with this Mission in our hearts, with the blessings of *Allah* and *His Rasool* on our heads, with the *Kalmah* on our lips, and with the *Quran* in our hands. We march in the company of our hundred million comrades, on the road traversed by our martyrs, and to the goal fixed by our Destiny. We march with the solemn determination to reach that goal—and, come what may, reach it we will. For, we know that on that depends not only our own freedom, but also the liberation of the three hundred million non-Paks in Dinia. That is, the peoples who have for centuries suffered serfdom under Hindoo hegemony; who have since 1857 been under the dual yoke of the British-Bania Alliance; and whose spiritual, moral, and political emancipation is the supreme object of our Mission.

It must, therefore, be engraved on the hearts of all Paks that Pakistan is our base; that Dinia is our field of action; but that Pakasia is our goal. This goal we must reach, since there our Destiny awaits us. It awaits us, holding in its hand the key to our sovereignty in Pakistan, to our Mission in Pakasia, and to our glory in the world.



NOTE

This is a revised version of the statement I issued on the 9th of June, 1947. That is, the day on which Mr. Jinnah and his All-India Muslim League finally accepted the British Plan of the 3rd of June, 1947, and thereby wrote the most shameful and the most treacherous page in the annals of the Millat.

It explains more fully the disastrous implications of Mr. Jinnah's action, and asks the Muslims to reject the British Plan and to follow the Pak Plan. For only the Pak Plan can save and secure the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI.

First issued June, 1947
Reissued August, 1947
Reissued November, 1947

POSTSCRIPT

The book was still in the press when the final British Plan for India of the 3rd of June, 1947, was announced, and when it was accepted first by Mr. Jinnah, and then on his advice by his All-India Muslim League on the 9th of June, 1947. In my view, the Plan created a grievous crisis for the Millat, and its acceptance by Mr. Jinnah constituted the greatest betrayal of the Millat in all her history. To warn the Muslims of that betrayal and to urge them to defend the Millat against it, I issued the above statement on the 9th of June, 1947, and I have now incorporated it in the book as embodying my carefully considered judgment on the situation created by the acceptance of the British Plan.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GREATEST BETRAYAL

The Millat's Martyrdom & The Muslims' Duty

We must Redeem the Millat

The Pak Plan the only way to Redemption

The incredible has happened. In its life and death struggle, the blackest treachery has been committed against the Millat. And, alas! after 455 years, the tragedy of Iberia has been re-enacted in "India."

To his crying shame, to the consuming agony of the Millat, and to the contemptuous joy of the British-Bania Alliance, Mr. Jinnah, followed by his All-India Muslim League, has accepted the British Plan of the 3rd of June, 1947. That

is, the Plan which spells mortal peril to Islam, its splendour, and its civilization; to the Millat, its nations, and its Mission.

I. BETRAYAL OF THE MILLAT

In accepting the British Plan Mr. Jinnah has acted the Judas and betrayed, bartered, and dismembered the Millat.

Not as it was betrayed by Miss Janki in 712, for her act, motivated by personal revenge, involved only Marshal Muhammad Qasim and Pakistan.

Not as it was bartered by Mir Jaafar in 1757, for his act, impelled by lust for recognition as a provincial Quisling, gave away only Siraj-ul-Daulah and Bangistan.

Not as it was dismembered by most of the *Jalalatmaabs* in 1857, for their act, prompted by an urge for recognition as princely Quislings, affected only some of its sections and strongholds.

But it has now been wholly betrayed, bartered, and dismembered by Mister Jinnah, whose act, animated by ambition for recognition as the *Quisling-i-Azam** of Pakistan and Bangistan, shatters the foundations of all its nations and countries, and sabotages the future of all its 100 million members living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

In view of this grim tragedy, it is the sacred duty of every Muslim in the Continent to grasp the terrible significance of Mr. Jinnah's acceptance of the British Plan and to counteract it at once in the consciousness that, unless repudiated and nullified quickly, it will forever cripple the life of the Pak nation in Pakistan, blight the existence of the Pak Millat in Dinia, and compromise the freedom of the Fraternity throughout the world.

II. BITTER EFFECTS OF THE BETRAYAL

That all this is inevitable is painfully clear from the fact

* After "the first verse of the Koran was chanted Mr. Jinnah took the oath of allegiance to King George VI, his heirs and successors,"
—Daily Telegraph, London, August 16, 1947.

that, by the acceptance of the British Plan, Mr. Jinnah has dealt six deadly blows at the Millat—blows which have stunned the Muslims, shocked their friends, and cheered their enemies.

First, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has destroyed its thirteen-century-old unity—a unity which it cherished from the very beginning as the source of its rise and expansion in the Continent; which it promoted throughout the era of its power to maintain its integrity and supremacy; which it has preserved even during the period of its subjection to foster its revival and regeneration; and which it now deems more vital than ever to achieve the security and sovereignty of all its nations in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It is obvious that, in destroying this unity, he has destroyed an asset which is vital to the preservation, progress, and prosperity of all great communities in the world. It is so vital that, to recover it, the Christians in Europe and America are employing their best brains and spending their fabulous wealth; to secure it, the Communists throughout the world are dedicating all the fervour of their faith; and, to safeguard it, the Hindoos in Dinia have, in spite of all historical difficulties and social disadvantages, always employed their great resources.

Secondly, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has accepted from the British-Bania Alliance the dubious recognition of two of its ten nations on the fatal conditions:—

- (a) that one of these two nations—Pakistan—shall forfeit half of the Panjab, half of the historical Sindh (Palanpur, Kachch, Kathiawar, and Kambay), the whole of the Jammun and Kashmir State, the Delhi Division, and the cis-Jamna territories;
- (b) that the other—Bangistan—shall lose half of Bengal and the whole of Assam, minus the district of Sylhet;
- (c) that both—the paralysed Pakistan and the battered Bangistan—shall be the dominions of Britain; that they shall bear true allegiance to their master—the King of Britain; and that, if rumours are true, they shall remain indifferent—

in action—towards the fate of Palestine—a fate which is now being sealed for ever; but keen to support the supremacy of Britain against her rivals in the world—a supremacy which is now being challenged more seriously than in 1939; and

- (d) that the Millat's other nations in Dinia, including the nations of the founders of the empires of Delhi and of the kingdoms of Oudh and Khandes, of Bijapur and Maisour, which represent one-eighth of the whole world of Islam, shall all be the helots of the Hindoos; that they all shall for ever renounce their own nationhood, embrace the Hindoo nationality, and take an oath of allegiance to the Head of the Hindoo State in Dinia.

Thirdly, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has surrendered to the Hindoos almost all its strategic places and historic battlefields including Panipat and Fatihtpur Sikri, which are the shrines of its chivalry, the scenes of its victories, and the shields of its defence; but which will now become the symbols of its desertion and degradation by Mr. Jinnah and will be used by the Hindoos as bases for its destruction.

Fourthly, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has surrendered to the Hindoos almost all its famous seats of learning, hallowed forts, and imperial cities. That is:

the seats of learning including Rampur and Aligarh, Nadwa and Deoband, which were founded by its savants to prepare Muslims for the defence and propagation of Islam; but which will now be forced by the Hindoos to train Muslims for the defence and propagation of Indianism;

the forts which were built by its emperors to quarter its *mujahids* who lived and died to protect its honour and life, its heritage and mission; but which will now be used by the Hindoos to house their *mahabirs* who will live and die to punish it for its very existence; and

the cities, including Delhi and Agrah, Lucknow and Ahmadabad, Bijapur and Seringapatam, which embody its legend and lore; which enshrine the title-deeds of its might and majesty; and in the *diwans* and palaces of which used to sit its *Padshahs*, receiving the homage of the Hindoos and dispensing even-handed justice, protection, and privileges to all, including the Hindoos. These cities will now belong to the

Hindoos and see strutting in their *diwans* and palaces the *Pardhans*, commanding the homage of Muslims and planning the division, degradation, and exploitation of the Millat. Not only that. They will also see walking down their streets helpless, harassed, shame-stricken Muslims vainly appealing to the Hindoos for protection—against the Hindoos.

Fifthly, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has surrendered to the Hindoos almost all its great *masjids*, *mazars*, *maqbarahs*, and monuments. That is:

the *masjids* including the *Moti*, the *Sunehri*, the *Shahi*, and the *Jami*, from the minarets of which the *muezzins* may still proclaim the supremacy of Allah, His Rasool, and Islam; but in the courtyards of which the believers in Islam will now pray as the slaves of the believers in Hindooism; and over the compounds of which will now fly the Flag of Hindooism;

the *mazars* of saints, including Khawaja Nizam-ul-Din Auliya and Khawaja Muin-ul-Din Ajmeri, who in life secured the supremacy of Islam, but who in death will now suffer the hegemony of Hindooism over Islam;

the *maqbarahs* of sovereigns, including Iltamash, Firozshah, Akbar, Shah Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal, and Tipu, who in life ruled over the Hindoos; but who in death will now lie under the rule of the Hindoos; and

the monuments, including the Imperial Memorials, the Qutb Minar and the Alai Minar, the Imperial *Qasars*, Observatories and Pavilions, which commemorated the epic of its greatness and glory; but which, like those of the Moors in Spain, will now commemorate the tragedy of its degradation and disintegration.

Sixthly, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has renounced in effect its Islamic Mission in Dinia and in fact its Pan-Islamic creed* in the world—that Mission which is the supreme purpose of its life, and that creed which is the sole basis of the integrity of the Fraternity.

Lastly, for the first time in the Millat's history in Dinia, he has, as an inevitable result of all this, turned into defeats all

* "The theory of pan-Islamism has long ago exploded."—(Mr. Jinnah, The Eastern Times, Lahore, May 23, 1947.)

its victories including those of Mahmoud of Somnath, of Babar of Sikri, of Aurangzeb of Delhi and Deccan, and of Abdali of Panipat; wiped out the achievements of all the thirteen centuries of its life; and delivered to the British-Bania Alliance all that its saints, sovereigns, and soldiers had created, built, or won for it in Dinia.

This, in brief, is what Mr. Jinnah has done by his acceptance of the British Plan. Although a mere outline, it is enough to show that his deed constitutes the greatest betrayal of the Millat—a betrayal the full, fatal effects of which will be felt only with the passage of time; and of which no doubt a fuller account will be given by history.

III. ATTEMPTS TO WHITEWASH THE BETRAYAL

To pervert the verdict of History, Mr. Jinnah is making desperate attempts to whitewash the betrayal. In fact, he is trying to do something more than that. He is befooling the Muslims into hailing their miserable fate as good fortune, and their betrayal by him as a blessing. In other words, to escape the wrath of his immediate victims, the accusing finger of the Millat, and the verdict of History, he is asking the Muslims to treat "*Marg-i-Millat*" as "*Jashn-i-Jinnah*."

Little does he realise that, by doing this, he is adding the smear of shame to the sorrow of disaster suffered by Islam; that he is sprinkling salt on the gaping wounds inflicted by him on the body of the Millat; and that he is insulting the sacred memory of *lacs* of dead, who have perished as a direct result of his treachery, and outraging the tortured sentiments of *crores* of the bereaved, who, starved and grief-stricken, maimed and mutilated, are rotting on the roads or in the camps. Still less does he realise that his attempts to portray treachery as triumph and betrayal as blessing are foredoomed to failure. Foredoomed because the perversion of truth has never succeeded and never will succeed; because his crime is too black to be whitewashed; because its

consequences are too calamitous to be forgotten by the Millat; and because his attempts are too crude to deceive History.

Let me explain.

It has been stated by Mr. Jinnah that his acceptance of the British Plan is a compromise—not a settlement. That statement is sheer nonsense. This for two reasons. First, morally and legally, an accepted compromise, such as his, is synonymous with settlement. Secondly, in honour and in effect, a compromise such as his, made at the cost of the fundamentals of a cause, is synonymous with capitulation. If he still thinks otherwise, let me remind him of the cause and of the result of his compromise. What was the cause? It was—and still is—the recognition of one hundred million Muslims as a separate, distinct Millat and the achievement of their national security and sovereignty in Dinia. What is the result of his compromise? In a word, British blight for the fifty million in Pakistan and Bangistan, Sikh savagery for the five million in the East Panjab, Hindoo hell for the forty-five million in the rest of Dinia, and in addition the British-Bania rejection of the Milli status of all 100 million. Can he deny that? If not, he must admit that his acceptance is not a compromise but a capitulation—a capitulation which is not only a crime against the Millat but also a calamity for it.

It has been claimed by him that, in spite of its grievous implications, his compromise has “won” for the Millat what could not be “won” otherwise. That claim is just an insult to the Millat’s intelligence. For, by accepting the British Plan he has merely got what had already been rejected by Muslims when a part of it was given by the British in the partition of Bengal in 1905, and when the rest of it was offered by them in their oft-repeated proposal to create a big Muslim province, comprising the Western Panjab, Afghanistan, Sindh, and Balochistan. Worse. By accepting that Plan, what he has got from the British is much less than what was offered

by the Hindoo leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, in 1924—and rejected by Muslims.

That is why both the British and the Banias are now rejoicing over their success—as well they might. For by clever tactics, including mock-heroic opposition even to what they had voluntarily offered before, they both inveigled him into the convenient belief that for him to get that much now would be a great victory for the Muslims, a great defeat for the Hindoos, and a great concession by the British. To imprint this on his mind and on that of our masses, right up to the very last minute, Mr. Churchill, the spokesman of British Imperialism, continued to express his utter opposition to “the destruction of the unity of India”; while Mr. Gandhi—the spokesman of Hindoo hegemony—kept declaring “even if the whole of India burns, even if the Muslims demand it at the point of the sword, we will never agree to the vivisection of India.” This was play-acting *par excellence*. It was meant to support the British-Bania strategy, the aim of which was to fob the Muslims off with *Pastan*—the shadow of Pakistan—and so destroy the soul and substance of Pakistan. To do this, they had subtly to manoeuvre Mr. Jinnah into accepting what, in his own words—now conveniently forgotten by him—was “absolutely unacceptable,” because it was “a mutilated, truncated, and moth-eaten Pakistan.” In this they have succeeded. They have made him accept “the absolutely unacceptable,” namely “the mutilated, truncated, and moth-eaten Pakistan,” and destroy with his own hands the true, full, and mighty Pakistan. This is lamentable enough. Worse still is the fact that they have made him disintegrate the Millat and frustrate the Pak Plan, which alone could cremate “Indianism” and bury British Imperialism in Delhi; and which alone could protect the future of the whole Millat in Dinia and its Dependencies.

It is therefore hardly surprising that, after Mr. Jinnah's acceptance of the British Plan, Mr. Churchill, forgetting his past persistent opposition, felicitated the British Government

on the success of the British Plan, which has sabotaged the integrity of the Millat and served the selfish interests of British Imperialism. And Mr. Gandhi, forgetting his "even if the whole of India burns . . ." declarations, changed his opinion overnight, and congratulated all parties concerned, including the Viceroy and the British Government, on the acceptance of the British Plan, which has resuscitated the dying India and vivisected the living Millat.

It has been stated by him that, by his acceptance of the British Plan, we Muslims have agreed to the partition of the Panjab, Bengal and Assam, and that we must abide by it, and also by the award of the Boundary Commission, "unfair, unjust and even perverse," though it is. This statement is a shameful imposition. For, we never agreed to the partition of these provinces and therefore we cannot—and will not—accept the Partition or the award of the Boundary Commission.

This raises the question: who then agreed to the Partition? The answer is: it was Mr. Jinnah himself who, in spite of his solemnly declared opposition to it, agreed to it with Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy. Not only that. He agreed also to accept the Boundary Commission's award, *whatever that might be*. In other words, he agreed to give away—to the Sikhs and Hindoos—*any parts* of the Panjab, Bengal, and Assam, which the Commission might decide. Can he deny that? If not, his attribution to us of agreement to the Partition is preposterous and his appeal to us to abide by the award of the Commission cruel. For, it is really an invitation to us to commit suicide in order to maintain his prestige with, and keep his promise to, Lord Mountbatten.

It has been suggested by Mr. Jinnah that his act is only a beginning and that later on Muslims will recover what they have lost through it. That suggestion is a mere sop. For every schoolboy knows, first, that owing to the fundamental change in the Indian situation, what was feasible

for us until 1942, ceased to be feasible then and will, if we all accept the British Plan, be absolutely impossible in future; and, secondly, that, whatever the situation, to begin by dividing and crippling one's own people, as he has divided and crippled the Muslims, and by unifying and strengthening one's opponents, as he has unified and strengthened the Hindoos and Sikhs, is to make sure of ultimate ruin, not of ultimate recovery. That is why the sages say that Fate never forgives a people who so recklessly cast away an opportunity to protect their heritage as he has cast away this opportunity to protect ours. That is why the historians declare that any heritage so wantonly imperilled, as has been ours by him, has never been recovered in history. If he doesn't know that, he had better study at least the grim sequel of the Moors' retreat from Iberia into their North African homelands—a retreat which led to the annihilation of Islam and their Millat in Iberia as well as to the extinction of the independence of their homelands; and which is to this day mourned by their people—and by all other Muslims.

It has been pleaded by him that the disintegration of the Millat caused by his act was unavoidable. That plea is palpably false; because the disintegration could have been averted by making a firm stand for the implementation of the Pak Plan. In fact, under this Plan all our 100 million Muslims and all our lands would have been integrated; *and* all our sacred places and historical centres, all our imperial cities and princely states would have been secured—and secured in full Islamic freedom.

To make a firm stand for the implementation of the Pak Plan now was the appointed time. That is, the time appointed by Destiny. For now after ages—and for ages—India was being reconstituted and its reconstitution offered us the best, and perhaps the last, opportunity to protect the honour and life, the liberty and living space of our 100 million Muslims.

Further, to make such a stand was all the more imperative in

view of the mass murders of Muslims in Cawnpore in 1931, of their more recent massacres in Calcutta; and, above all, of their wholesale butchery in Bihar, where there have flowed rivers of Muslim blood and tears, and from where the Muslims' cry for protection is being heard all over the Continent. From these grim facts anyone with an active conscience could have foreseen the terrible fate awaiting the Muslims of the East Panjab, Delhi and other regions, and to avert it would have made a stand for the implementation of the Pak Plan.

Finally, to make such a stand became all the easier too after the Hindoo and Sikh demand for the partition of the Panjab and Bengal, because that demand could—on a similar but sounder principle—be effectively countered by a demand for partition of the whole of Dinia into Hindoo and Muslim regions—a partition which could have been irresistibly enforced. On the one hand, this would have averted the loss to Pakistan of the Eastern Panjab and half of the historical Sindh (Palanpur, Kachch, Kathiawar, and Kambay), of the whole Delhi Division, and the cis-Jamna territories; and to Bangistan of Western Bengal, Assam, and the Ashar and Balus Islands. This would have saved the lives of those two million Muslims of the East Panjab who are now dead, and would have kept under Muslim suzerainty their murderers—Sikhs and Hindoos—who are now defying us, killing our people, and destroying our lands. Not only that. It would have kept them inside these countries and apart from each other and from joining the Hindoos in the rest of Dinia. On the other hand, it would have unified and consolidated as nations the Muslims of the Deccan in Osmanistan, of Bihar and Orissa in Faruqistan, of Bundhelkhand and Malwa in Siddiqistan, of Hindoostan in Haidaristan, of Rajistan in Muinistan, and of South India in Maplistan. By South India I mean the Madras Presidency, where in its regions of Malabar and the Alam Islands, Muslims constitute a far greater majority of population than do the Hindoos in Western Bengal or the Sikhs and Hindoos combined in the Eastern Panjab; where

for obvious reasons a square inch of territory is as important to the Millat as a square mile in its land-locked countries; and wherein the invincible "Mujahidism" of Islam is symbolized by the devout, doughty Mapilas—Mapilas who, be it remembered to their honour, fought the British-Bania Alliance even in those days when Mr. Jinnah more than ever used to befriend the British and fraternise with the Hindoos; Mapilas who have heroically responded to the message of the Maplistan National Movement which we started in 1942 to establish the cause of Maplistan; and who are determined not to rest until they have established an independent, sovereign Maplistan in the land which they have served with their blood for centuries, and which according to the laws of Allah and mankind is theirs for ever.

It will therefore be seen that the disintegration of the Millat could have been avoided by acting upon the Pak Plan. Yet this Plan he has not only rejected, but also torpedoed.

He has slandered it before the Millat; and, in collaboration with the British-Bania Alliance, he has wrecked the efforts of the Pakistan National Movement for its implementation. This he has done first by maliciously pooh-poohing the Plan; then by callously underbidding the Movement's demands; and finally by treacherously accepting far less for the Millat than the Movement would ever have accepted.

It has been argued by Mr. Jinnah that to implement the Pak Plan would have involved the impossible task of demanding the creation of six states for the Indian Muslims—Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan. This argument is a miserable excuse. For the task was neither impossible nor irrational. On the contrary, it was clearly possible and eminently rational. It has been attempted—and accomplished—many a time before in history. In fact, in every era whenever and wherever the supreme interests of a people have called for it, their leaders have successfully demanded the creation of as many new states as they deemed vital to their survival. Obviously in this they have

always been inspired by their selfless devotion to their people. Had Mr. Jinnah possessed that quality he would have realized at once that to demand these six states for the forty-five million Muslims of India was a sacred duty—a duty to ignore which was a sin against Allah and a crime against humanity. For not to consolidate them in these six states was to condemn them, as he has now done, to be looted and lynched province by province by the Hindoos. That this is no exaggeration is painfully clear from the sequel of his policy in the East Panjab. It has *already* sent two million Muslims to their death, and three million to their ruin. Thus, it has *already* cost us more lives, more misery, and more treasure than all the wars we fought in the thirteen centuries of our history in Dinia. It can, therefore, be only described as the blackest and the bloodiest treachery in our history—a treachery which, for the first time in thirteen centuries, has made possible the triumph of Hindooism over Islam throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It has been repeatedly claimed by Mr. Jinnah that “the mutilated, truncated, and moth-eaten” Pakistan, set up under the British Plan, is a sovereign state. This claim is a fraud upon language and a foul deception of Muslims and the world. For, in spite of the Statute of Westminster, Pakistan is not a sovereign state. The reason is that a country which owes allegiance to a foreign master—as does Pakistan—never has been, and never will be, called sovereign. This is the absolute law of nations and to it there are no exceptions.

What, then, is the true position of Pakistan? It is the position of a Dominion of the King of Britain—the King who has appointed its Governor-General. This Governor-General is none other than Mr. Jinnah himself; who, as such, on the 15th of August, 1947, took the oath of allegiance to his master: “King George VI, his heirs and successors.”

Has Mr. Jinnah really forgotten all this? If so, let him consult his warrant of appointment; if not, let him stop

throwing dust into the Muslims' eyes about the status of Pakistan and admit that, both in theory and in fact, Pakistan is a slave state; that he himself is a loyal, glorified servant of the King of Britain—the King whose nation destroyed our 1,200-year-old Empire in 1857 and enslaved our Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Finally, he has held out the hope that guarantees for the protection of the rights of Muslims in the Hindoo-majority regions of Dinia would be obtained from the Hindoos. That hope is a dope. For such guarantees, even if asked for by him—and even if given by the Hindoos—would not be worth the paper on which they were written. The only guarantee that could in certain circumstances be effective would be the presence of an equal number of Hindoos in our free and full Pakistan and Bangistan—a guarantee the possibility of which has, thanks to his agreement with the Viceroy, vanished with the loss, among other things, to Pakistan, of the East Panjab, the Delhi Division, and the cis-Jamna territories; and, to Bangistan, of Western Bengal and Assam.

The result is that now he is witless, powerless, and weaponless—and that through his own folly. The best he can now do for the Muslims in India is to send paper protests to the Hindoos. That is all! Beyond that he can do nothing for them or for anyone else. Not even for the people in the integral parts of Pakistan itself—parts like Junagarh. For, had he been able to do anything more than that, the Nawab of Junagarh would not be mourning his fate in Karachi; the Jammun and Kashmir State would not be under the heel of the Hindoos; the Nizam's position and possessions would not be in mortal danger; the Jamna, the Sutlej, the Beas, and the Ravi would not be flowing red with Muslim blood; and the highways and byways of the East Panjab would not be choked with Muslim bodies.

IV. JINNAH'S EXPLANATIONS AVAIL NOTHING

It is useless to dwell further on Mr. Jinnah's specious explanations of his acceptance of the British Plan; for they

cannot influence the verdict of History or mislead the Millat. They cannot, because the verdict of History is based on the verities of life which belie his explanations; and because the Millat knows—and remembers—that this is not the only time he has betrayed its cause. Before this, for years he favoured the perilous “Joint Electorates” for creating a common nationhood of Hindoos and Muslims; then he demanded and accepted the dangerous Indian Federation; then he frowned on the birth of the ideal of Pakistan in 1933; and, on adopting it in 1940, he subtly distorted it; and finally, he accepted the vicious British Plan of 16th May, 1946. The Millat remembers that he was criminally wrong then; and it knows that he is fatally wrong now in accepting the wicked British Plan of 3rd June, 1947.

It is also useless to dwell further on his explanations. They cannot revive our dead—the dead most of whom were denied even the *Namaz-i-Janazah* and the common decency of the grave and were devoured by crows and vultures, by dogs and jackals. They cannot save the Millat from the consequences of his acceptance of the British Plan—consequences which will always shadow the Millat and darken our future.

V. HOW TO REDEEM THE MILLAT

This fate is inevitable. There is no escape from it. So, the sooner we grasp that fact, the better for us all; and the quicker we act in its light, the better for the Millat. For the time is too short and the tragedy too shattering.

This fact over-rides everything. It poses the question: What now? How to defend the Millat? It leads to the irresistible conclusion that the only thing which can now save the Millat is the heroic effort and sustained action of our ordinary Muslims. That is, the Muslims who still think in terms of Islam and not of politicians; who still act in terms of the Millat and not of the Muslim League; and whose action will therefore spring not from considerations of sordid careerism but from selfless devotion to Islam and the Millat. Such action can save the

Millat, because it is the most redeeming thing in the affairs of nations as of individuals. This being so, the vital thing is that we the ordinary Muslims should all realize our duty—and discharge it in a spirit of absolute dedication to Islam and the Millat.

VI. INSPIRATION FROM OUR HEROES

To be able to do that, we have only to ask ourselves a simple question:—

How would Qasim, Mahmoud, Babar, Aurangzeb, Abdali, or Tipu have acted in such a crisis as the one which confronts us to-day?

If we put that question to ourselves, we shall all realize our duty; for the very names of those heroes spell duty. They inspire devotion to Islam and the Millat. They create the conviction that in such a crisis not one of them would have retreated a single step, let alone withdrawn to the position we occupied twelve centuries ago; that is, in 711. Not one of them would have deserted a single Muslim, let alone surrendered fifty million Muslims to the Hindoos. Not one of them would have renounced a single inch of the Millat's territories in Dinia, let alone given up five-sixths of the Continent, including the East Panjab, the Jammun and Kashmir State, and the Delhi and Malabar Divisions. On the contrary, each one of them would have unhesitatingly staked his all to serve the whole Millat, to save its cause and its countries. This conviction is natural. It springs from the noble record of those heroes. For, as we all know, it was essentially for the Millat's cause that Qasim suffered the tortures of chains and died a most tragic death; that Mahmoud fought no less than seventeen campaigns and exhausted himself to death; that Babar risked his all in a "do or die" battle against the Rajpoots at Sikri; that Aurangzeb spent even the last days of his life subjugating the Marathas in the Deccan; that Abdali accepted the challenge of the Marathas and in a life and death grapple defeated and

destroyed them at Panipat; and that Tipu preferred death to dishonour and fell fighting the British at Seringapatam.

VII. SUPREME DEVOTION TO DUTY

This conviction of the reaction of our heroes to such a crisis as the one we face to-day will awaken us all to our own duty. It will inspire us all to discharge that duty with supreme devotion. It will steel us to fight for the freedom of the whole Millat in Dinia and its Dependencies, and sustain us in the long, hard struggle until man by man all nations of the Millat are freed, and mile by mile all its countries are liberated; until its whole heritage is recovered and its holy Mission is completed.

We could wish for nothing better. It is that inspiration which is our need of the hour; and it is that determination which is the hope of the Millat. For one makes *mujahids* of men and the other enables them to retrieve lost causes. And no wonder. Both are born of the noblest teachings of Islam and are sustained by the heroic tradition of the Millat. And both can overcome the present grievous crisis. That is, the crisis in which are in danger the freedom and fortunes of our 100 million Muslims, the honour and heritage of the Millat, and its history and hopes. They all cry to be saved. Saved they must be if the Millat is to survive; and saved they can be, if we all unite, emulate the example of our heroes, follow the right course, and fight for the cause of the whole Millat.

VIII. THE TWO COURSES BEFORE MUSLIMS

This raises the elemental question:—What are the courses that are open to us and which of them is the right one for us to follow in this crisis?

Like all such crucial questions, this question demands to be answered in simple, straightforward terms—terms which will be understood by all. And so it will be.

To answer it in such terms is to say that in this crisis two—only two—courses are open to us all. One is the course of

the Pak Plan and the other that of the British Plan. That is all. To these two courses I have already referred in this statement. On the merits of these two we must immediately make up our minds and of these two we must immediately take the right one. For there is not a day, not an hour, not a moment to be lost.

To help all Muslims to choose for themselves—and choose the right one—I shall briefly describe these courses and the ends to which they lead.

(1) The Pak Plan

The first is the course of the Pak Plan. This is the course of duty, honour, and *mujahidism*. Like all such courses, it is long; it is hard; and it involves struggle, suffering, and sacrifice. But it leads to ultimate triumph. That is to say, it leads among other things to a division, on the basis of population, of all the regions of Dinia between the Hindoos and the Muslims—and others; to the unity and recognition of our 100 million Muslims as a single Millat; then to their integration in ten nations each in its individual national homeland, *i.e.* the Muslims of North-West Dinia in Pakistan, of North-East Dinia in Bangistan and the Ashar and Balus Islands, of the Deccan in Osmanistan, of Bundhelkhand and Malwa in Siddiqistan, of Bihar and Orissa in Faruqistan, of Hindoostan in Haidaristan, of Rajistan in Muinistan, of South India in Maplistan and the Alam Islands (to say nothing here of the integration of the Muslims of Western Ceylon and the Ameen Islands in Safiistan, and of Eastern Ceylon in Nasaristan); and, finally, to the co-ordination of all these nations in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

It is worth remembering that this course is not only a true but also a tested one. For it is essentially the same course as that taken by Mahmoud at Somnath in 1024, by Babar at Sikri in 1527, and by Aurangzeb in Delhi and Deccan from 1658 to 1707; and more recently by the French at Verdun in 1916, by the British in London in 1940, and by the Russians at Stalingrad in 1942. It is, therefore, the course by taking

which we can save the thirteen centuries of the Millat's history, secure the freedom of all its 100 million members, recover its spiritual and territorial heritage, and ensure the fulfilment of its Mission in Dinia.

(2) The British Plan

The other is the course of the British Plan which has already been taken by Mr. Jinnah and his All-India Muslim League. This is the course of convenience, defeatism, and quislingism. Like all such courses, it is short; it is soft; it promises well-paid posts, spectacular privileges, and glittering prizes. But it leads to ultimate tragedy. That is to say, it leads among other things to the destruction of the unity of the Millat, to the loss of its vast and valuable territories, to the "quislingization" by the British of its fifty million members living in Pakistan and Bangistan; to the extermination by the Sikhs of its five million members living in the East Panjab; and to the liquidation by the Hindoos of its forty-five million members living in the Hindoo-majority regions of Dinia.

It is worth remembering that this course is not only dishonourable in principle, but also damned by experience. For it is essentially the same course as that taken by those Moor leaders in Iberia in 1212 who failed to unite their Millat for a decisive battle against their enemies, and thereby so disintegrated their forces that they ultimately suffered a disastrous defeat—a defeat which made inevitable their retreat from Spain into their North African homelands, and the consequent enslavement of those homelands by their enemies. It is also the course which was taken by Mir Jaafar in Bangistan in 1757, by most of the *Jalalatmaabs* in India in 1857, by Michael Collins in Ireland in 1921, by Joseph Tiso in Slovakia in 1939, and by Marshal Petain in France in 1940. It is therefore the course by taking which we shall lose the freedom of 100 million Muslims, obliterate the thirteen centuries of the Millat's history, forfeit its spiritual and territorial heritage, and frustrate its Mission in Dinia.

IX. THE PAK PLAN OR THE BRITISH PLAN

At this fateful moment, when the Millat stands at the cross-roads of destiny, such are the two courses which lie open before us all and such are the antipodal ends to which they lead. Under the laws of Islam, the choice is ours to make; but so is the responsibility before Allah and His Rasool.

In view of that, as we make our choice and assume our responsibility, we had better know one thing and remember another.

The first is that the history of the Millat is still to be written; and that when it is written it will judge each one of us by our loyalty not to the cause of individuals and parties but to the cause of Islam and the Millat. In other words, it will pronounce its verdict on the actions of each one of us as they affect the future and fortunes of Islam and the Millat, not as they affect the position and prospects of politicians and their organisations. This we must know.

The second is that this crisis of 1947 is quite the worst in the history of the Millat. For it is far worse than that of 1857. The crisis of 1857, as we know to our cost, ended in the defeat of the Millat; but this of 1947, as we can see, may well end in the doom of the Millat. For it involves the very being of us all; and it gives an opportunity to the savage Sikhs and the soulless Hindoos to degrade, to disintegrate and to destroy us all. This we must remember.

If we make our choice in the realization of these two supreme facts, we cannot go wrong. In fact, I am certain that not one of us, possessing pride of name or principles of life, professing respect for the Millat's liberty and reverence for its destiny, will take the course of the British Plan; since to do so will be to commit both suicide and homicide—suicide of the individual self and homicide of the Millat. On the contrary, we shall all take the course of the Pak Plan, since to do so will be to discharge our duty and to ensure the life, the liberty, and the destiny of the Millat.

We must therefore all make our choice in the solemn realization that what we do now will for ever decide whether we shall go down to posterity as the servants of the Millat or as its saboteurs; and whether the Millat itself shall live in honour and freedom or perish in dishonour and slavery.

X. THE MOVEMENT FOLLOWS THE PAK PLAN

In so far as the Pakistan National Movement is concerned, I am proud to say that, inspired by this realization, it has already made its choice. It has decided to follow as before the course of the Pak Plan, and to continue its fight for the unity, the liberty, and the destiny of the whole Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

To give formal expression to its decision, I declare before the Pak Millat, the Fraternity, and the world, that the Pakistan National Movement rejects the British Plan and repudiates the acceptance of that Plan on the Millat's behalf by Mr. Jinnah and his All-India Muslim League; that it reiterates its demand for the implementation of the Pak Plan, which alone can, as already shown, preserve the unity of the Millat, integrate the 100 million Muslims in ten nations in the ten countries of Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan and Nasaristan; which alone can keep, in Pakistan, at least the Jammun and Kashmir State, the East Panjab, the Delhi Division, and the cis-Jamna territories; and, in Bangistan, West Bengal, Assam, and the Ashar and Balus Islands; and which alone can co-ordinate these ten nations in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and so ensure among other things the fulfilment of the Millat's Mission in Dinia and its Dependencies.

Further, I declare that the Movement will—come what may—carry on its struggle until it has achieved the implementation of the Pak Plan.

Furthermore, I warn the British, the Hindoos, the Akhoots, the Dravidians, the Sikhs, and all other nations and princely

states in Dinia that any treaties and pacts, any agreements and arrangements they may make with Mr. Jinnah and his All-India Muslim League on the basis of the British Plan will not bind the Movement, the Pak nation in Pakistan, or the Pak Millat in the rest of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Finally, I inform all concerned that, to mark its determination to play its part in giving effect to the above-mentioned decisions, the Movement will henceforth be known as the Pakistan National Liberation Movement; and that its allied organisations working for the same aims will be known as the National Liberation Movements of Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan and Nasaristan; the All-Dinia Milli Liberation Movement and the Pakasia Cultural Liberation Movement.

XI. MY APPEAL TO THE MUSLIMS

This is the course which the Pakistan National Liberation Movement has taken; and which it will tread to the end to secure the unity, the liberty, and the destiny of the Millat. In the solemn belief that only this course leads to the salvation of the Millat, I call all Muslims to it. I urge them to follow the Pak Plan, and to reject the British Plan and repudiate its acceptance in the Millat's name by Mr. Jinnah and his All-India Muslim League. I appeal to them to co-operate with the Pakistan National Liberation Movement to ensure the liberation of all the 100 million Muslims and the destiny of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. I earnestly hope and fervently pray that in this crisis they will not fail the Millat. For to do that would be as fatal to each one of them as to the whole Millat. It would mean the end of everything they hold dear in life. They must, therefore, stand by the Millat, support the Movement, and continue the struggle. For only that can save them all, secure the Millat, and above all re-establish the cause of Islam throughout Pakasia.

XII. WE FIGHT ON FOR THE MILLAT

In conclusion, I address a comradely word to all members of the Pakistan National Liberation Movement and of its allied organisations. In this crisis all parties and organisations are on their trial, and ours by no means least. We all know that Mr. Jinnah and his League have already forgotten their solemn commitments, accepted the British Plan, and betrayed the Millat. It may be that, owing to the relentless pressure of the Leaguers and of the British-Bania Alliance, other parties will sooner or later follow them. If they do, so much the worse for them; but that will not mean the end of the struggle. For we must and we will carry it on to the end, if possible with the co-operation of others; if necessary, alone. We have already done that once, when in 1933 we stood alone for the ideal of Pakistan; and we will do it again when now we stand alone for the ideal of Pakasia.

It may well be that for this stand we shall be persecuted by our enemies more ruthlessly than ever. If that happens, we will not flinch. We will suffer such persecution as stoically as we have suffered it in the past; but we will never quit or capitulate. We will fight on. For we can never forget the tears and blood shed, and the shame and humiliation suffered, by the Millat since 1757; we can never forget our promises and declarations to serve the Millat; and we can never forsake our brethren in the Jammu and Kashmir State, East Panjab and Delhi Division, in West Bengal and Assam, in Maplistan, and in the Hindoo-majority regions of Dinia.

It shall never be said of us that, when the time came to choose between the greatest battle for the Millat and the greatest betrayal of the Millat, we too followed *Quisling-i-Azam* Jinnah and chose betrayal; that we too acquiesced in his treacherous sale of the lives of fifty million Muslims to the Hindoos, and in his shameful mortgage of the honour of fifty million Muslims to the British; and that we too joined him and his "Johukmies" in their cowardly retreat to the position

from which the ancestors of us all sallied forth in 711 to conquer India for Islam and to convert it into Dinia.

In this solemn resolve, let us, my comrades, bow before Allah and His Rasool and pray for divine help. Then, as we rise from *sajdah*, let us bear ourselves like *mujahids* and brace ourselves for a long, hard, and historic struggle. Finally, in the consciousness that on our fight depends the future of 100 million Muslims, let us stake our all to serve and save the whole Millat, and to add a new chapter of glory to the history of Islam in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Long Live the Pak Millat!

Long Live its Ten Nations!

Long Live its Ten Countries!

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